ORIENS AUGUSTI – LEVER DU ROI

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Contents

This article, which is based on a paper read at Dumbarton Oaks on April 5, 1951, was to have been the first of a series of "Studies Eastern and Western in the History of Late Classical and Mediaeval Ideas." The series was to have included the following additional titles:

"Synthronos"
"Roman Coins and Christian Rites"
"Epiphany and Coronation"
"Charles the Bald and the *Natales Caesarum*"
"Roma and the Coal."

Professor Kantorowicz was able to correct the proofs of the present paper before his death on September 9, 1963. In accordance with his expressed wishes, plans for publishing the other studies in the series will be abandoned. Occasional references to some of these studies in the footnotes have been allowed to stand.

1. *ORIENS AUGUSTI**

AN *aureus* issued by Hadrian in A.D. 117, the year of his accession, shows on the reverse side the profile bust of a handsome youth, his flowing locks adorned with the radiate crown (figs. 1a-b).[1] The inscription in the exergue discloses his name: ORIENS. "Behold a man, the Orient is his name"; so we might muse with the prophet or meditate with Philo: "A strange appellation if you assume this name to be given to a man consisting of body and soul."[2] Hadrian's mintmaster, of course, did not think in terms of biblical messianism, but rather—if at all—in terms of imperial messianism or imperial theology. Moreover, it would have been hard to tell whether the crown-bearing youth named *Oriens* had a body, and even more difficult to decide whether he had a soul. For the youth is a god. He is *Sol* or *Sol oriens*, the Sun-god or, even more accurately, the god of Sunrise. He is not identical with Aurora, the roseate Dawn, who precedes Sunrise. He is Sunrise itself, the Rise in timeless perpetuity. Nothing, however, except the inscription and perhaps the youth of the Morning Sun, would betray that the picture was supposed to represent the brief moment in which the great luminary, newborn on every day,[3] becomes visible on the horizon. Nor did the later imperial

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[1] Paul L. Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1931-1937), II, 46, and pl. 1, fig. 37; in his Catalogue Appendix, Strack distinguishes three different legends on the reverse: No. 20: DIVI NER NEP PM TR P COS (here fig. 1a); No. 29: PM TR P COS DES II; No. 37: PM TR P COS II (here fig. 1b). Cf. Mattingly and Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, II (1926), pl. XII, fig. 218 (= Strack, No. 20); also Mattingly, *The Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, III, 241, No. 35, and pl. XLVI, fig. 16; 249, No. 75f., and pl. XLVIII, fig. 8 (= Strack, No. 37). The coin is not too rare; a specimen was actually for sale at *Münzen und Medaillen A.G.*, Liste 190, No. 39 (Basel, May/June, 1959), for a little more than $100. See for a few additional remarks on that coin, Otto T. Schulz, *Die Rechtstitel und Regierungsprogramme auf römischen Kaisermünzen* (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums, XIII: 4 [Paderborn, 1925]), 69. On *Oriens* in general, see Peters, "Oriens," in Roscher, *Lexicon*, III, col. 1016f.; Marbach, "Sol," *RE*, IIIA, col. 912; Cumont, "Sol," in Daremberg-Saglio, IV: 2, col. 1384; H. Usener, *Das Weihnachtsfest* (2nd ed., Bonn, 1911), 357ff., also in *Rheinisches Museum*, LX (1905), 471ff.; Jules Maurice, *Numismatique Constantinienne* (Paris, 1911), II, 308ff.; M. Bernhart, *Handbuch zur Münzkunde der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Halle, 1926), I, 69, and 205f.

[2] Zachariah, 6, 12; cf. Philo, *De confusione linguarum*, 14, 62, ed. by Wendland, II, 241, 14, a passage quoted by Eusebius, *Praeparatio evengelica*, XI, 15, 5–6, 533d, ed. by Dindorf, II, 34, ed. PG, 21, col. 885C; see F. J. Dölger, *Sol salutis* (2nd ed., Münster, 1925), 150f.

[3] For the daily rejuvenation of the Sun, see my forthcoming study "PUER EXORIENS: On the Hypapante in the Mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore," *Perennitas: Festschrift für Dom Thomas Michels O. S. B.* (Münster, 1964), note 47ff.

Oriens coinages illustrate the moment of Sunrise in the traditional fashion which Roman art inherited from Greece.

A black-figured *krater* in the Bibliothèque Nationale may remind us of the customary representations of the moment of Sunrise. The vase painting shows the god's quadriga in full frontality. Only the disk of Helios is visible, and the whip which the god holds in his right hand. The rippling of the sea in which three dolphins play near the surface indicates the quiet coolness of the early morning hour. This is truly Helios emerging from the sea, slow and majestic; and, as in nature itself, we are not quite certain whether the sun disk rises or whether the waters recede (fig. 7).[4] The calmness and restraint of the design, characteristic of Greek archaic art, are no longer found in the Hellenistic medallion-sized plaque, a silver-gilt *phalera* or horse-trapping of about 300 B.C., from Elis, now in the British Museum (fig. 8).[5] The team of four horses is in full action. They stamp out of the ocean in which we notice again two dolphins just below the segment of the horizon—now, however, no longer freely playing in their own right and as they please; they have become subservient to an idea and are ornamentally arranged in frozen rigidity below the sun disk. Since the horses are harnessed two by two in opposite directions, we are permitted to see the divine charioteer in full frontality, his huge face surrounded by flashing rays. With the exergual horizon separating the ocean from the sky and with the divergent lines bursting forth in all directions, the disk itself becomes the Sun while the design clearly suggests the moment of sunrise.

This Hellenistic style of depicting sunrise was received by Rome. The statue of a Roman general from Susa, now in Turin, shows *Sol oriens* on the breastplate of his cuirass (fig. 12).[6] The upward movement of the rising chariot is intensified, and resumed, by the rapturous heavenward gaze of the general, a feature adopted from Hellenistic models.[7] It expressed, of course, in the case of imperial statues, the emperor's inspired connection with the deity above, perhaps even a close inner relationship between his *numen* and the god. The connection of armored statues and *Sol oriens*, though rare, must yet have been quite popular in imperial Rome. Not to mention the armor of the Augustus statue from Prima Porta where the relief on the breastplate displays the Sun-god's rising in a chariot, the horses galloping from left to right, there is another armored statue from Cerveteri, now in the Lateran, and yet another one from Salona, the breastplates of which display the rising *Sol* on the quadriga as he emerges from the sea (figs. 13, 14).[8] Moreover, there is a coin of Vespasian

[4] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 220; see S. Lambrino, ed. *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: France*, fasc. 10 (Paris, 1931), 56, pl. 75, fig. 9, and pl. 76, fig. 6; Arthur Bernard Cook, *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion* (Cambridge, 1914–1940), I, 335, fig. 268, also 226, note 5. Cf. Konrad Schauenburg, *Helios* (Berlin, 1955), 35, note 303.

[5] F. H. Marshall, "Recent Acquisitions of the British Museum," *JHSt*, XXIX (1909), 160, fig. 13; for an excellent reproduction, see Cook, *Zeus*, I, pl. XXIV, facing p. 336.

[6] Otto Brendel, "Der Schild des Achilles," *Die Antike*, XII (1936), 278, fig. 5, photograph from the German Archaeological Institute, Rome.

[7] H. P. L'Orange, *Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture* (Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning, Ser. B, Skrifter, XLIV [Oslo, 1947]).

[8] Brendel, *op. cit.*, 275f., and fig. 3. See, for these two armored statues (here figs. 12, 13), Cornelius C. Vermeule III, "Hellenistic and Roman Cuirassed Statues," *Berytus*, XIII (1959), 39f., Nos. 41

showing, on the obverse, the emperor in armored costume and, on the reverse, the frontal head of *Sol oriens*.[9] The design of *Sol*, frontal on his quadriga, appeared on a republican *denarius* (fig. 11) as well as on later coins of Aurelian (fig. 9) and Probus,[10] and it turns up once more on very late antique contorniates where sometimes, and perhaps significantly, it is connected with the portrait of Alexander the Great on the obverse.[11] On the imperial coins, however, this picture serves only to designate *Sol invictus* in general, and not the more particularized version of *Oriens*. The naturalism of the Grecian type picturing the very moment of the Sun-god's emergence from the sea did not, it seems, illustrate adequately what the idea of *Oriens* was supposed to convey. Helios, in late imperial Rome, was expected to rise not only aesthetically in his morning beauty, but must rise either politically or, as it were, theologically and ethically to fulfill certain moral duties comparable to those of the emperor himself.

A political purpose may be discerned in the issue of Trajan's *aurei* displaying the profile head of the youthful Sun-god, lacking, however, as yet the inscription *Oriens* (fig. 2). The monetary type of this gold coin can be traced back to the Roman Republic where it was not too rare in the first century B.C. (fig. 3) and was sported, after the model of Hellenistic kings (fig. 5), by Marcus Antonius, the transmitter of a number of oriental symbols of rulership.[12] Trajan, before embarking on his last campaign of almost unparalleled

and 42, whose excellent investigation shows that *Sol* on cuirasses is far rarer than the Gorgoneion which probably was the most common decoration. For Helios on an armored statue from Hatra, see E. H. Kantorowicz, "Gods in Uniform," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, CV (1961), 378, notes 37, 38, and fig. 27; and for *Sol* on the breastplate of the statue from Prima Porta, see Erika Simon, *Der Augustus von Prima Porta* (Opus Nobile, XIII [Bremen, 1959]), pls. IV and V, and p. 11, for the coloring of the relief. See Schauenburg, *Helios*, 38f. and fig. 20, for other cuirassed statues decorated with the rising sun, and Walter Schmid, "Torso einer Kaiserstatue im Panzer," *Strena Buliciana: Commentationes gratulatoriae Francisco Bulić* (Zagreb, 1924), 45ff. and pl. V (here fig. 14).

[9] See Alföldi, in *RM*, L (1935), 107, and pl. XIII, fig. 15; Mattingly, *CREBM*, II, 8, No. 47, pl. I, fig. 15.

[10] For the reverse of a *denarius* of *ca.* 100 B.C., see H. Mattingly, "Rare and Unpublished Roman Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 6th Ser., XVI (1956), 166, No. 18, and pl. XVII, fig 7; see also Gian Guido Belloni, *Le monete Romane dell'età repubblicana* (Milan, 1960), 70, No. 666, and, for a good reproduction, *Monnaies et Médailles*, Catalogue 195 (Basel, 1959 [November]), No. 383 (here fig. 11). For the later imperial coins, see Mattingly and Sydenham, *RIC*, V: 1, 301, Nos. 319–322, pl. VII, fig. 110, and R. Delbrück, *Die Münzbildnisse von Maximinus bis Carinus* (Berlin, 1940), pl. XXIV, fig. 22 (Aurelian [here fig. 9]). See, for a medallion of Probus, Jocelyn M. C. Toynbee, *Roman Medallions* (Numismatic Studies, V [New York, 1944]), 162, and pl. XXVIII, fig. 7; H. Mattingly, *Roman Coins* (London, 1927), pl. XXXIII, fig. 8; Mattingly-Sydenham, *RIC*, V: 2, 112, No. 861ff., pl. I, fig. 13, and pl. V, fig. 1; Karl Pink, "Die Medaillonprägung unter Kaiser Probus," *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, LXXVI (1955), 23, No. 32, and pl. I, fig. 10.

[11] A. Alföldi, *Die Kontorniaten* (Leipzig, 1943), 105, and pls. IV (figs. 5–8), XXXVI (figs. 3–4), XLVII (fig. 2). Darkness, conquered by *Sol*, is sometimes symbolized by a crocodile. For Alexander-Helios, see E. H. Kantorowicz, "Gods in Uniform," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, CV (1961), 372f., and fig. 13.

[12] For the *denarius* of L. Valerius Acisculus, of *ca.* 45 B.C. (here fig. 3), see H. A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* (London, 1910), I, 536, No. 4113, pl. LIII, fig. 9. Grueber catalogues with one exception (II, 137, No. 125ff., a frontal *Sol*) only coins of the first century B.C. displaying the type here under discussion; cf. I, 396, No. 3245f., pl. XLII, fig. 11; 525, No. 4044, pl. LI, fig. 16; 536, No. 4110ff., pl. LIII, fig. 8; 578, No. 4248ff., pl. LVII, 4–5 (frontal); 585, No. 4284ff., pl. LVIII, figs. 2–4; II, 300, No. 645f., pl. XCV, fig. 11; also II, 68 and 70, Nos. 4543f., 4549ff., pl. LXVI, fig. 17, and pl. LXVII, fig. 1 (Augustus). For Marcus Antonius, see II, 486f., No. 87ff., and 506f., No. 141ff.; further the interesting issues II, 398, Nos. 60–62, pl. CIII, figs. 20–21, showing the façade of a temple and within the temple a *clipeus* with the radiate head of a frontal *Sol*; for a better reproduc-

victories over the Parthians, consulted the oracle of Iuppiter Heliopolitanus, the Syrian Sun-god, and posed the question whether he, the Emperor, would safely return to Rome after the war. Actually, it may have been in connection with this oracle that Trajan ordered the emission of the *aurei* displaying *Sol* with the radiate crown.[13] After Trajan's death in the East, Hadrian chose to continue, for a short while, that pattern of gold coins, though with a remarkable amplification. To the features of the sun-god he added the word *Oriens* meaning, like the Greek word Ἀνατολή, both the sunrise and the East. Did the inscription then refer to the geographical Orient, although we know that Hadrian actually abandoned his predecessor's Oriental policy?[14] That sounds plausible enough. But perhaps Hadrian intended to put himself for some other reason as well into personal liaison with the rising Sun-god. According to a Giessen Papyrus, Helios, shortly after the change of emperors, had taken the trouble to appear to the people of Egypt in his own person in order to announce that in his chariot of white steeds "he had just risen together with Trajan (ἄρτι Τραιαν[ῶι] συνανατείλας)" and that now he returned to herald the accession of Hadrian, the new emperor.[15] The papyrus describing the ascension of Trajan should probably be put into relation with the new custom, not regularly observed, of displaying the chariot of the Sun-god on *Consecratio* coins, and we may recall that this tradition was still followed on the Consecration coins of Constantine the Great.[16] At any rate, it will not be easy to separate clearly politico-geographical issues from the cultual-theological aspects.

The iconographic type of the solar youth in profile (fig. 2) turned up once more in a *dupondius* of Hadrian, without the inscription *Oriens*.[17] It was repeated later on by Probus, with the inscription SOLI INVICTO COMITI AUG. (fig. 4);[18] that is to say, the image of the youth with the radiate crown no longer alluded to the rise of the Sun-god. In fact, Hadrian's precocious legend, *Oriens*, was not resumed until more than a century had elapsed after

tion, see A. B. Cahn, *Sammlung Häberlein* (Catalogue, Frankfurt, 1933), Nos. 3044–46. The profile head is also on coins of the Seleucids where, however, the youth with the radiate crown portrays the king, not the god; see, e.g., the drachmae of Antiochos VI Dionysos (145–142); cf. E. Newell, *The Seleucid Mint of Antioch* (New York, 1918), 241, 251, 257; *Monnaies et Médailles*, Vente publique XIX (June, 1959), No. 545 (here fig. 5).

13 Strack, *Untersuchungen*, I, 229, pl. III, fig. 244, discusses also the political aspect (here fig. 2); cf. Mattingly, *CREBM*, III, pp. xxxvi, 117, 121, 134, Nos. 592f., 621ff., 681, pls. XX, figs. 1, 12–14, and XXII, fig. 16.

14 Strack, *Untersuchungen*, I, 229f, believes in Hadrian's personal initiative concerning the additional *Oriens*, a word which he as well as Schulz, *Rechtstitel* (*supra*, note 1) interpret in an almost exclusively geographic sense.

15 P. Giessen 20; cf. E. Kornemann, "Ἄναξ καινὸς Ἀδριανός," *Klio*, VII (1907), 278ff.; F. Preisigke, *Sammelbuch griechischer Papyrus-Urkunden* (1915–1922), I, 526; O. Weinreich, "De dis ignotis quaestiones selectae," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XVIII (1915), 34ff.

16 See Strack, *Untersuchungen*, II, 116, and III, 92; also Patrick Bruun, "The Consecration Coins of Constantine the Great," *Arctos*, N.S., I (1954), 19–31; Leo Koep, "Die Konsekrationsmünzen Kaiser Konstantins und ihre religionspolitische Bedeutung," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, I (1958), 94–104.

17 Strack, *op. cit.*, II, 13, pl. XVI, fig. 434 (Dupondius of A.D. 123).

18 Mattingly-Sydenham, *RIC*, V:2, 32, No. 138, pl. II, fig. 2, and 108, No. 829; Strack, *Untersuchungen*, I, 229. Two handsome specimens of the Probus *aurei* are found also in the catalogue of: *Münzen und Medaillen A.G.*, Vente publique XIX, 5–6 Juin 1959 (Basel, 1959), pl. X, figs. 249 (fig. 249 = our fig. 4), 250.

its first appearance: Gordian III (239–244) was the first to renew emissions of *Oriens* coins showing *Sol* standing, his right hand raised and holding the globe in his left, with the legend *Oriens Augusti*.[19] Thereafter *Sol*, in addition to numerous other ways of being represented, held his set place as *Oriens* until the very end of the pagan empire; Licinius and Maximinus Daja were the last emperors to apply the *Oriens* legend.[20] The new *Oriens* issues of the third century, however, deviated considerably from the Hadrianic pattern. The radiate crown, first adopted by Nero as an imperial insignia (though it had been quite customary with Hellenistic kings long before), adorned with some consistency the head of the emperor himself on the coins of the third century.[21] On the reverse, the likewise radiate *Sol* appeared as a small figure in full stature, standing (fig. 15) or walking. The most common representations of that type showed the Sun-god raising his right hand and holding in his left either the globe or the whip.[22] More rarely was he pictured carrying a palm, or a laurel branch and bow (fig. 16), or a *tropaeum*.[23] Occasionally he is seen entering his quadriga or racing it to the right or left (fig. 17).[24] All these were the conventional designs for representing the Sun-god in general, but without any allusion to his special character of *Oriens*. A change, however, is noticeable under Aurelian (270–275), the most ardent propagator of solar henotheism and of *Sol invictus* in particular. On his coins, *Oriens* appears in a new and rather unexpected attitude: he puts his foot on the neck or back of a defeated enemy or kicks one or two captives (figs. 18a-c).[25] This design, the *calcatio colli*, had its long history in imperial art.[26] But in connection with the

[19] Mattingly-Sydenham, *RIC*, IV:3, 37, No. 213, pl. III, fig. 14.

[20] The *Oriens* issues are enumerated by Bernhart, *Handbuch*, I, 205, and in the other works quoted *supra*, note 1. New finds, of course, may increase their number daily. The latest coins with *Oriens* inscription are those of Licinius and Maximinus Daja; cf. Maurice, *Numismatique Constant.*, II, 298, 308f; H. von Schönebeck, *Beiträge zur Religionspolitik des Maxentius und Constantin* (Klio Beiheft, N.F. 30 [Leipzig, 1939]), 139. Maurice interprets *Oriens* in the sense of *ortus imperii*, rise to power ("...Le Soleil qui est supposé faire naître les empereurs à la puissance mondiale," or "*Oriens* comme faisant naître à l'empire l'Auguste ou les Augustes").

[21] For the radiate crown, see Alföldi, "Insignien," *RM*, L (1935), 144; J. M. C. Toynbee, "Ruler-Apotheosis in Ancient Rome," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 6th Ser., VII (1947), 131, pl. VI, figs. 4, 5, and (for Antoninus Pius) 145, pl. VI, fig. 14; Friedrich Ehrendorfer, "Der Denar des Aurelian," *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, LXXVI (1955), 14.

[22] For the Antoninianus of Gallienus, see Mattingly-Sydenham, *RIC*, V: 1, 174, No. 494ff., and pl. II, fig. 23. The type of *Sol* with the whip, though extremely popular in ancient art at large, seems to appear on imperial coins at a relatively late date only, not before Septimius Severus; see Mattingly-Sydenham, *RIC*, IV: 1, 103, 119, 157f., Nos. 101, 217, 489, 592, pl. VIII, fig. 15. Globe and whip are the attributes most frequently represented in the *Oriens* issues of coins.

[23] Mattingly-Sydenham, *RIC*, V:1, 140, No. 113, for a palm branch (Gallienus); 272, No. 64, pl. VIII, fig. 116 (Aurelian) for a laurel and bow, also for a trophy and a globe surmounted by a crescent, *ibid.*, p. 272, No. 65. See also Peters, in Roscher, *Lexicon*, III, 1017. Apollo with bow and laurel belongs perhaps to the general problem discussed by me in another connection; see Kantorowicz, "On Transformations of Apolline Ethics," *CHARITES: Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. Konrad Schauenburg (Bonn, 1959), 265ff., esp. pl. XXXV, fig. 2.

[24] *Sol* in quadriga, galloping: Mattingly-Sydenham, V:1, 174, No. 497f. (Gallienus); V:2, 45, No. 267 (Probus); entering quadriga: V:2, 350, No. 152 (Postumus). Aurelian (ineditum): *Münzen und Medaillen A.G.*, Auktion XVII, 2.-4. Dez. 1957 (Basel, 1957), pl. XXXII, fig. 557, and p. 55, No. 557 (here fig. 17).

[25] Mattingly-Sydenham, *RIC*, V:1, 267, 271f., 280f., 286, 292f., Nos. 17, 61–64, 134, 137, 150 f., 187, 242f., etc., and pl. VIII, figs. 116, 123, 126, 129.

[26] This subject will not be discussed here; see my forthcoming study on "Roman Coins and Christian Rites."

rising Sun-god it was a new theme on imperial coins. Sunrise poses here as a vengeful *pacator orbis* (fig. 19).[27] Himself ever unconquered, *Sol* triumphantly defeats by his rise, by his mere appearance, the evil spirits and chases away the demons of darkness who, politically, would be identical with the barbarians and other military foes of the *pater* and *restitutor generis humani*, the Roman emperor.[28] Beginning at the latest under Probus, the emperor himself would be shown on coins in the attitude of kicking a captive (fig. 20) or dragging a captive behind him, a type found very often on coins of Valentinian and Theodosius.[29] All this implied, in the language of imperial political theology, that *Oriens* was an antitype, a double of the imperial *pacator orbis*. The emperor, decorated with the *corona radiis distincta*, defeats by his rise the political enemies of the empire and of mankind. He, too, is ever unconquered like *Sol invictus*; and like *Sol oriens* he crushes the enemies by his mere appearance and sun-like omnipresence.[30] "The happiness of the Lord King on his arrival wipes away from the world, like the twilight of the sun, the trembling fear of gaping darkness," writes Fulgentius.[31]

The relationship between *Oriens* and emperor was emphasized by the coin inscriptions as well. It is true, the simple one-word legend *Oriens* still appeared occasionally, as on coins of Saloninus and Postumus.[32] Usually, however, a fuller version will be found reading ORIENS AUG[USTI] or AUGUSTORUM in any one of the many possible abbreviations. Therewith a certain interaction has been established, or given expression, between the emperor and the god of sunrise such as existed with regard to so many other gods and goddesses. That is to say, *Oriens Augusti* referred to one of the numerous divine qualifications of the emperor, such as *Virtus Augusti*, *Salus Augusti*, *Concordia*

[27] For *Sol* as *pacator orbis*, see, e.g. Mattingly and Sydenham, *RIC*, V:1, 265, No. 6f., pl. VIII, fig. 114 (here fig. 19); also 350, Nos. 7–9 (Aurelian); V:2, 362, No. 317 (Postumus); 414, No. 183 (Tetricus I) and p. 445; 471, No. 97, and 535, No. 872 (Carausius). Cf. Joseph Vogt, *Orbis* (Freiburg, 1960), 162, who points out that *pacator orbis* as an imperial title was started under Septimius Severus only.

[28] Cf. F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* (Brussels, 1899), I, 128 ("l'astre du jour, au moment ou il dardait ses premiers rayons, frappait les démons qui dans les ténèbres avaient envahi la terre, et purifiait ainsi toute la création"); see his *Les mystères de Mithra* (3rd ed., Brussels, 1913), 120. The idea itself is of respectable age and may be traced back to the second millennium B.C.; cf. Comte du Mesnil du Buisson, "Le lever du soleil dans le cylindre hittite du Louvre AO 20 138," *Syria*, XXXVI (1959), 145–147; also A. Parrot, in Syria, XXVIII (1951), 180ff. See also Leo Berlinger, *Beiträge zur inoffiziellen Titulatur der römischen Kaiser* (Diss. Breslau, 1935), 22, also 54f. for *pacator*.

[29] Mattingly-Sydenham, *RIC*, V:2, 21, No. 13 (*Virtus Probi Augusti*) and, for an excellent reproduction of that rare piece, see the catalogue of *Münzen und Medaillen*, Vente publique XIX, 5–6 Juin 1959 (Basel, 1959), pl. X, fig. 248. (here fig. 20). See, for later specimens, Mattingly-Sutherland, *RIC*, IX, 218, No. 32, pl. XII, fig. 2 (Valentinian I); for a good reproduction, see the same catalogue of *Münzen und Medaillen*, pl. XII, fig. 273. Further, *RIC*, IX, 186, No. 61a, pl. X, fig. 14, and, for Theodosius, 84, No. 35a, pl. VI, fig. 10. See also Konrad Kraft, "Die Taten der Kaiser Constans und Constantius II.," *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*, IX (1958), 141ff., for a similar type under the sons of Constantine.

[30] See Berlinger (*supra*, note 28), 65, for the emperor's omnipresence. Alföldi, *RM*, L, 140ff., for the *corona radiis distincta*.

[31] Fulgentius, *Mitologiae*, I, prooem., ed. by R. Helm (Leipzig, 1898), 5, 14: ...*domini regis felicitas adventantis velut solis crepusculum mundo tenebris dehiscentibus pavores abstersit*. Cf. Skutsch, "Fulgentius," *RE*, VII, col. 217, 46.

[32] See, for Saloninus and Postumus, Bernhart, *Handbuch*, I, 205, and, for Valerian II, Mattingly-Sydenham, *RIC*, V:2, 122, No. 42.

Augusti, comparable to the imperialization of other gods—*Mars Augusti* or *Minerva Augusti* (or *Augusta*)—such as are found in the inscriptions and legends of coins.[33] Hence, "Sunrise" began to rank with the emperor's tutelary companions or equals. He became one of the numerous manifestations of the emperor's *genius* which, in addition to other possibilities, had chosen to appear also as the "Ever-rising" and thus "Ever-unconquered." The prince, in his capacity of "Imperial Sunrise," was conqueror in permanence of all evil, and thereby became the savior, and morally the father, of the human race.

This then, we may take it, was the meaning of *Oriens Augusti*: it was the emperor's rising in timeless perpetuity. Hence, the Greek imagery displaying the very moment of sunrise or a time-bound sunrise did not quite suit the purposes of imperial coin propaganda. Moreover, the designation ORIENS depended upon and referred to the cult of Mithras. Before his identification with *Sol invictus*, Mithras himself had been predominantly a god of the Morning Light, one "who rises above Mount Hara before the Sun."[34] Mithras was actually worshipped under the name of *Oriens*: a small marble altar, found along the Tiber, has the dedicatory inscription *Orienti*.[35] The connection with Mithras explains the fact that the issue of *Oriens* coins (if we except the Hadrianic *aureus*) belongs to the third and early fourth centuries only and was started at a time when the cult of Mithras, now actively promoted by the Roman emperors, reached its climax.[36] It further explains why the imagery of *Sol invictus* was freely used for representing *Oriens Augusti*.

For all those cultual connotations and connections, it will nevertheless be legitimate to raise the question whether *Oriens Augusti* should not be interpreted in a different fashion as well. We may rule out the suggestion according to which those coin issues referred to nothing but the *dies imperii* or *ortus imperii*, the accession of the ruler and his rise to power; for the *Oriens Augusti* coins were struck in any year of an emperor's reign, not only in the year of his accession.[37] It is true, a law of the Emperors Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius ordained that the emperor's *ortus*, his day of accession as well as his birthday, should be celebrated annually and observed as *feriae*.[38] But this

[33] For the problem, see A. D. Nock, "The Emperor's Divine *Comes*," *JRSt*, XXXVII (1947), 102–116. Not all the gods received the epithet *Augusti* or *Augustus* (*Augusta*), which, among the higher deities, was sometimes given to Minerva. See, e.g., Joseph Vogt, *Die alexandrinischen Münzen* (Stuttgart, 1924), I, 51, and II, 20, for the inscription Ἀθήνη σεβαστή on a coin of Domitian; see Mattingly-Sydenham, *RIC*, V: 2, 354, Nos. 211 f., for *Minerva Augusti* under Postumus.

[34] See Christensen, in *CAH*, XII, 119; F. Saxl, *Mithras* (Berlin, 1931), 73; Wüst, "Mithras," *RE*, XV, col. 2132, 63.

[35] Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, I, 128, and II, 102, No. 48 bis; M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis mithraicae* (Hague, 1956), 206, No. 518. According to H. Usener, *Götternamen* (Bonn, 1929), 362, note 29, *Oriens* became also a popular Roman name.

[36] Cumont, *Mystères de Mithra*, 88 f.

[37] See *supra*, note 20, for the opinion of Maurice.

[38] *C.* 3, 12, 6, 5, of August 7, 389 (= *Cod. Theodos.*, 2, 8, 19, 4), mentions indeed the *ortus imperii* among the *feriae*. The term does not seem to have been used in earlier times. The *fratres Arvales* always use for the day of accession the term *ob imperium* and so does the *Feriale Duranum*; see Aelius Pasoli, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* (Bologna, 1950), 81; R. O. Fink, A. S. Hoey, and W. F. Snyder, "The *Feriale Duranum*," *Yale Classical Studies*, VII (1940), 43 (Col. I, 15, 17, 21), 45 (Col. II, 3), 47 (Col. II, 20), 185 f. See, in this connection, also W. Seston, "Jovius et Herculius ou l'épiphanie des Tetrarques," *Historia*, I (1950), 257–266.

ordinance would not explain the elaborate solar symbolism which all those coin issues exhibit, or even the wording *Oriens* for *ortus*.

A different matter is the interpretation of *Oriens* in a geographical sense, referring to the political "imperial Orient." In fact, the geographical connotations of *Oriens* coinages have to be considered seriously as allusions to political events in the East, to intended campaigns or actual wars against the Parthians or other peoples in the East. This seems to have been true in the case of Gordian who issued *Oriens* coins in connection with his Persian wars of 241–242;[39] or of Gallienus who, in 268, distributed his *Oriens Augusti* series in order to emphasize his claims to certain Eastern provinces then under the "emperor" Odenathus of Palmyra.[40] Also when we find the designation *Oriens* on coins of Aurelian showing *Sol* treading captives under foot, it is difficult not to think of the hapless Queen Zenobia of Palmyra as she walked, laden with golden chains, in the procession of her conqueror. Aurelian, in his coins, seems to have played deliberately with the ambiguity of the word *Oriens* meaning Orient and Sunrise at the same time. In Rome Aurelian triumphed as *restitutor Orientis* and *restitutor orbis*; an *aureus* from the mint of Antioch, however, shows *Sol*, the globe in his left hand, with the same inscription RESTITUTOR ORIENTIS (fig. 21) just as in another coin he appears as RESTITUTOR ORBIS.[41] There prevails, in this case, a certain reciprocity between Aurelian and the Sun-god, and one is reminded of mediaeval emperors who ascribed their own exploits to their God. The same reciprocity is strikingly demonstrated by another coin of Aurelian, which rightly has attracted much attention: the legend on the reverse, surrounding the Sun-god rising in his quadriga frontally after the Greek model, reads SOL DOMINUS IMPERII ROMANI (fig. 9), while the obverse, showing the head of Aurelian adorned with the radiate crown, reads DEO ET DOMINO NATO.[42] Mutually, or together, emperor and Sun-god ruled over the empire or restored the Orient—an appropriate vagueness concerning identification or comparison of a ruler with a deity, a vagueness which was characteristic of the antique ruler-cult in general.[43]

It is noteworthy, however, that the solar concept of the *Restitutio Orientis*, reflecting so clearly Aurelian's tendency of theologizing his policy, represents at the same time a significant change as compared to the concepts of his imperial predecessors. The unfortunate Valerianus, who paid for his capture at the hands of Shapur not only with his life, but also with his *memoriae*

[39] J. Vogt, *Die alexandrinischen Münzen*, 194. The oriental-political background of the Trajan-Hadrian issues of *Sol* coinage has been stressed by Strack, *Untersuchungen*, I, 229. See also A. D. Nock, in *CAH*, XII, 416, who connects *Sol* and *Oriens* coins of Trajan and Hadrian with the "Eastern interests of a particular time."

[40] A. Alföldi, "Die römische Münzprägung und die historischen Ereignisse im Osten zwischen 260 und 270 n.Chr.," *Berytus*, V (1938), 82f. See also Mattingly and Sydenham, *RIC*, V:1, 122, No. 47, where the legend ORIENS refers to Valerian II, leaning on a shield and crowning a trophy.

[41] Mattingly-Sydenham, *RIC*, V: 1, 280, 290, 304, 310, Nos. 140f., 233f, 350f, 404, for Aurelianus, and 307, No. 374f., pl. VII, fig. 107, for *Sol* as *Restitutor Orientis;* also 297, 304, 306, 309, 310, Nos. 287ff., 347ff., 368, 389, 399, 403, pl. VII, fig. 101, for Aurelian, and 306, No. 367, for *Sol* as *Restitutor Orbis*.

[42] See the remarks of Mattingly, in Mattingly-Sydenham, *RIC*, V:1, 258f.; and for the coins, *ibid.*, 301, Nos. 319–322, pl. VII, fig. 110; Delbrück, *Münzbildnisse*, pl. XXIV, figs. 21–22, and p. 157f.

[43] Nock, "Notes on Ruler Cult," *JHS*, XLVIII (1928), 31f.

damnatio—apart from the terrifying reliefs dramatizing and eternalizing that singular humiliation of a Roman emperor—had a series of *Restitutor Orientis* coins issued some fifteen years before Aurelianus. And Gallienus continued that practice. On the coins of these emperors, however, the legend *Restitutor Orientis* does not refer to the Sun-god. The inscription surrounds a female deity who has the turreted crown on her head and comes to greet her conqueror with a wreath in her hand, probably the detested *aurum coronarium* (fig. 22).[44] That is to say, *Oriens*, the province, appears on the coins of Valerianus and Gallienus in the conventional form of a personified province; and similar representations of *Oriens*, the geographic "Orient," as a female goddess are found under Aurelian.[45] Hence there was, after all, another way of representing the geographic Orient if that was intended; and it is therefore all the more remarkable that Aurelian, when distributing *Restitutor Orientis* coinages with the image of the Sun-god, quite obviously aimed at expressing a different idea by using the ambiguity of the word *Oriens*.

While there is no doubt that the inscription *Oriens* might allude to the geographic Orient, it would be a mistake to apply this meaning to every *Oriens* emission of coins. Emperors whose fields of activity were remote from Eastern affairs and had nothing whatever to do with wars against Persia or similar enterprises, have nevertheless used the *Oriens Augusti* types for their coinages. Postumus, for example, who was fighting in Gaul, on the Rhine and in Britain, could hardly justify in his policy the far-reaching hypothesis, gleaned from his *Oriens Augusti* emissions, that he "even dreamed of ruling the East."[46] Nor should similar conclusions be drawn from the *Oriens Augusti* coins issued by the two Tetrici or by Victorinus, or by the British Emperors Carausius and Allectus.[47] It would be very difficult, therefore, to put forward the view that these Emperors by striking their *Oriens* coins wished to announce claims to the Near East and the Oriental regions. Moreover, the coin images of the *Oriens* emissions do not warrant any one-sided, or even predominantly geographical interpretation. They are, by and large, identical with the designs of a great number of other specimens plainly manifesting the solar conception of rulership and proclaiming the Sun-god as the emperor's celestial antitype or divine *comes*.[48] This title of *comes*, to be sure, does not suggest that the emperor's celestial companion has become subordinate to the emperor, but indicates the idea that Sun-god and ruler were correlates.[49]

[44] Mattingly-Sydenham, *RIC*, V:1, 60, No. 286, pl. 1, fig. 7 (Valerian), and 103, No. 448 (Gallienus). See also Alföldi, in *Berytus*, IV (1937), 46, and pls. XI, 7–12, XII, 19–20, XIII, 21–22.

[45] For Aurelian, *RIC*, V:1, 280, 290, 304, 310, Nos. 140f., 233f., 350f., 404.

[46] Alföldi, in *CAH*, XII, 187.

[47] See Mattingly-Sydenham, *RIC*, V:2, 396, No. 115 (Victorinus); 406, No. 98f. (Tetricus I); 422, No. 245 (Tetricus II); 471, 489, Nos. 94ff., 293ff. (Carausius); 558, 560, 566, Nos. 4, 26f., 84 (Allectus).

[48] Nock, "Notes on Ruler-Cult," *JHSt*, XLVIII (1928), 31f., and "The Emperor's Divine *Comes*," *JRS*, XXXVII (1947), 102–116.

[49] So W. Ensslin, *Gottkaiser und Kaiser von Gottes Gnaden* (Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie, 1943, Heft 6 [Munich, 1943]), 39ff., who stresses "die Vorstellung des dienenden Gottes." See also Alföldi, *The Conversion of Constantine and Pagan Rome* (Oxford, 1948), 59. See, however, the well balanced judgment of Nock, "Divine *Comes*," 103f.

In a similar sense Sun-rise and emperor have been correlated. *Oriens Solis* and *Oriens Augusti* appear as equivalent, almost interchangeable notions which support each other and supplement each other in a cultual and, as it were, "theological" sense. We may recall the Giessen Papyrus: the Sun-god claiming that "he had risen together with Trajan."[50] The imperial ascension—so well known from *Consecratio* coins, including the last one, that of Constantine the Great—was depicted not only in connection with a dead emperor's consecration, but also with the living emperor's glorification.[51] An *aureus* of the year A.D. 197 shows, on the reverse side, the chariot of the Sun-god, its four horses ready to climb the sky, indicated by cumuli of clouds which arch over the reclining *Tellus* with her cornucopiae (fig. 25).[52] The figure to the right, preceding the horses, is probably the customary Dawn or Phosphoros, as displayed for example, in the cuirass reliefs of the Augustus from Prima Porta.[53] The charioteer, however, whom we see stepping on the quadriga, is not *Sol*, but the Emperor in the garb of the Sun-god, or else a *Sol* having unmistakably the features and pointed beard of Septimius Severus.[54] We are familiar with these facial similarities of emperor and god; they were almost the rule in the jugate busts of emperors and gods which became customary in the third century.[55] The *aureus* of Septimius Severus is of great interest not only because it offers evidence for the fact that the emperor himself is "the rising one," the *Oriens*, but also because it sheds light on a number of other representations of that scene. Of particular significance for the interchangeability of *Sol* and *augustus* is a *phalera*, a plaque serving as a decoration on horse trappings, probably of the second century, now in the Vatican, which shows the same design and has the exergue inscription INVENTORI LUCIS SOLI INVICTO AUGUSTO (fig. 26).[56] The same *Sol invictus augustus* is found also on a bronze medallion of Antoninus Pius, though it does not allow us to identify the Sun-god's features; but a medallion of Commodus, a

[50] See *supra* note 15.

[51] See *supra*, note 16.

[52] Mattingly, *CREBM*, V, 57, No. 226, pl. x, fig. 19. To this *aureus* in the British Museum Professor Alföldi kindly called my attention, also providing me with a photo. The interpretation of this set of medallions in the sense of imperial sunrises, obvious by their design, is supported also by the *Oriens Augusti denarius* of Aurelian, here fig. 17.

[53] For the Prima Porta Augustus in the Vatican, see J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School* (Cambridge, 1934), pl. xxxii, fig. 1, and, for a reproduction of the cuirass, Alföldi, "Zum Panzerschmuck der Augustusstatue von Primaporta," *RM*, LII (1937), pl. xvii, also 55f. For more detailed reproductions, see Erika Simon, *Der Augustus von Prima Porta*, pls. iv, v, and vii.

[54] This similarity has not been pointed out by Mattingly, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, note 52). I am grateful to Professor Alföldi for having passed on his observation to me. For the coin image of Septimius Severus, see Mattingly, *CREBM*, V, 56, No. 225, pl. x, fig. 18.

[55] Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies* (Princeton, 1957), 503f., and fig. 32: *id.*, "The Quinity of Winchester," *Art Bulletin*, XXIX (1947), 82, figs. 27–29. H. Usener, "Zwillingsbildung," *Kleine Schriften* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1913), IV, 355f., while discussing jugate busts, does not discuss the imperial coins. Cf. Nock, "Divine *Comes*," 107f., note 57. See also V. Schultze, "Die christlichen Münzprägungen unter den Konstantinen," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XLIV (1925), 333 and 335, for *Sol* ascending on the quadriga with the features of Constantius Chlorus; cf. Koep, "Konsekrationsmünzen" (see *supra*, note 16), 99, note 42.

[56] Margherita Guarducci, "Sol invictus augustus," *Rendiconti della Pontif. Accademia Romana di archeologia*, 3rd Ser., vols. 30–31 (1957–1959), 161ff. Cf. Kantorowicz, "Gods in Uniform," 382f., note 67, and fig. 34.

repetition of the Antoninus bronze, displays the radiate Sun, once more with a beard, rising on his chariot and therefore indicates the Emperor in the role of *Sol*, whereas another bronze medallion of Commodus shows the charioteer radiate and beardless and thus refers to *Sol* alone.[57] To the coin evidence representing the emperor as *Sol oriens* there should be added one of the reliefs on the cuirasses of armored statues (fig. 12), displaying the rising *Sol* frontally as he emerges on his quadriga from the sea; for this charioteer, as has been suggested long ago, has perhaps the features of the young Domitian.[58] Finally, on a bronze disk of the British Museum, we find Caracalla in military attire represented as Sun-god, though only his bust is shown and he is not ascending the quadriga (fig. 10).[59]

Another monument is, however, decisive: it is a relief from Ephesus, now in Vienna, from the time of Marcus Aurelius. We recognize, making allowance for some additions, the same design known to us from the medallions of Antoninus Pius, Commodus, and Septimius Severus (fig. 27).[60] The head of the charioteer is, unfortunately, missing, but his military costume is that of a Roman emperor, probably Marcus Aurelius. Whether the picture commemorates the Emperor's successes in the East by showing him as an *Oriens* or whether Marcus "anticipates the honour of apotheosis while still in life,"[61] may be difficult to tell. At any rate, he is the *imperator oriens*, with Victory hovering above his chariot whose horses, galloping high above the reclining *Tellus*, are guided by *Roma* or *Virtus* and by *Sol* himself. The slab represents indeed the Emperor "rising together with the Sun," (Ἡλίῳ συνανατέλλων). This monument is interesting for yet another reason; whereas the coin images showed the emperor in the costume of the god, that is, naked, the emperor of the Ephesus slab steps on the chariot in military attire. This change calls to our attention the fact that the *imitatio* of the gods on the part of the emperor was often paralleled by the *imitatio* of the emperors on the part of the gods. In a wall painting at Dura-Europos, Zeus Theos is represented in the Hellenistic-Parthian costume of a general or emperor, his head surrounded by a radiate halo. The god is about to step on the chariot of the Sun-god and to rise in it—he too an *Oriens* and, for that matter, an *imperator oriens*, decorated with the insignia of the emperor's military dignity (fig. 28).[62]

[57] See, for Antoninus Pius, Gnecchi, *Medaglioni*, II, 16, No. 67, pl. L, fig. 6; and, for Commodus, 52, Nos. 3–4, pl. LXXVIII, figs. 3–4. See also Jocelyn M.C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School* (Cambridge, 1934), 141, note 5, and pl. XIX, figs. 8 and 9.

[58] Brendel, in: *Die Antike*, XII (1936), 276f., 279.

[59] Brendel, *op. cit.*, 275, fig. 2. Photograph from the German Archaeological Institute in Rome, No. 34.2331, of which Professor Alföldi kindly placed a copy at my disposal.

[60] Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (Inv. I, 867). See Mrs. Arthur Strong, "The Exhibition Illustrative of the Provinces of the Roman Empire," *JRSt*, I (1911), 39f., pl. XII, and her *Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine* (London, 1907), 295; S. Reinach, *Répertoire de reliefs grecs et romains* (Paris, 1909), I, 144, fig. 3; Toynbee, *op. cit.*, 141, and pl. XXXII, fig. 3; see also the report on Ephesus by R. Heberdey, in: *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts*, VII (1904), Beiblatt, 55f.

[61] Strong, "The Exhibition," 39.

[62] See M. Rostovtzeff, *Dura-Europos and its Art* (Oxford, 1938), pl. XIII facing p. 74. Grabar, *Martyrium* (Paris, 1943), II, 140f., emphasizes the epiphany or theophany character of those representations: "C'est l' ἀναγωγή triomphale, thème de theophanie." That the god or emperor stepping on

What does the evidence of all these monuments convey? In the first place, they make it clear that the connection of *Oriens Augusti* coins with political events in the East (although such a connection occasionally does exist) is not the most important aspect of this rather complex problem. It may be safe to maintain that the idea of *Oriens Augusti* belongs to the field of political theology rather than to that of political geography. Second, the message of these monuments is that *Tellus* may rest comfortably reclined and produce her fruits because the rise of the Sun-god emperor, who chases away all the demons of darkness, secures for her the *felicitas temporum*. The theme is perhaps the Virgilian *Tuus iam regnat Apollo*. In fact, the *imperium sine fine* has found its complementary counterpart in an *imperium sine umbris*, an empire in which the Sun does not set, but in which he rises, as it were, perpetually and in permanence. In that empire, therefore, an eternal "Clarity" would prevail, and some coins, first issued by Postumus and inscribed CLARITAS AUGUSTI or (beginning with Constantine) CLARITAS REIPUBLICAE, expressed an idea related to that of *Oriens Augusti* (figs. 23, 24).[63] Again, it is a timeless, ageless, immutable Clarity which knows not the shadows of night, a correlate of the ever active Sunrise. The Sun does not set within the confines of the empire because the emperor's vigilance works in every moment and at every place, even *in ultima Thule*, in the Britain of Carausius and Allectus, Constantius Chlorus and Constantine. Constantius, writes a panegyrist, before joining the gods and the fruition of light eternal, did see even in this world *diem paene continuum*.[64] For in Britain, more blessed than other countries, where the winters are not too frigid nor the summers too hot, a land without harmful snakes, where "the days are longest and no night is devoid of some light ...*Sol* himself, who to us seems to set, there seems to have skipped his setting."[65] Another orator praised Constantius whom "the Sun-god himself, ready to drive across the sky, received on his chariot, which remains almost visible throughout, because in the hour of his setting he actually regains his rising, since the risings are quite close to the settings."[66]

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the chariot indicates *Oriens* is countenanced by the altar from Palmyra in the Capitoline Museum in Rome; see Cumont, "L'autel palmyrénien du Musée du Capitole," *Syria*, IX (1928), 102, pl. XXXVIII, fig. 1, and his *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain* (4th ed., Paris, 1929), pl. x, facing p. 106, who stresses the *Oriens* character. For gods in uniform, see—in addition to R. Paribeni, "Divinità straniere in abito militare romano," *Bulletin de la société archéologique d'Alexandrie*, XIII (1910), 177–183, and E. Breccia, *ibid.*, XVII (1919–1920), 184ff.—Ernest Will, *Le relie cultuel gréco-romain* (Paris, 1955), 258ff., and my study "Gods in Uniform" (*supra*, note 8).

[63] Usener, Das *Weihnachtsfest* (*supra*, note 1), 362, 364, for the *Claritas* coins. Cf. Mattingly-Sydenham, *RIC*, V:2, 333, 358 (No. 260), 364 (No. 336), for the first appearance of the inscription under Postumus. In Constantinian times, the type CLARITAS REIPUBLICAE was reserved for Constantine II; see Patrick Bruun, "The Disappearance of *Sol* from the Coins of Constantine," *Arctos*, Nov. Ser. II (1958), 15–37, esp. 20.

[64] *XII Panegyrici Latini*, ed. by W. Baehrens (Leipzig, 1911), VI(VII), 7, 2, p. 205f:...*ut fruiturus exinde luce perpetua iam videret illic diem paene continuum.* The numbering of the panegyrics differs in *Panégyriques latins*, ed. and trsl. by Edouard Galletier (Paris, 1952); see II, 59 (VII [6], c. 7). Cf. Cumont, *Lux perpetua* (Paris, 1949), 460.

[65] *Paneg.* VI, 9, 3, Baehrens, 207; Galletier, II, 61: ...*longissimae dies et nullae sine aliqua luce noctes*...*ut sol ipse qui nobis videtur occidere, ibi appareat praeterire.*

[66] *Paneg.* VII(VI), 14, 3, Baehrens, 231; Galletier, II, 28: *O felix in imperio et post imperium felicior (audis enim profecto haec et vides), dive Constanti, quem curru paene conspicuo, dum vicinos ortus repetit occasus, sol ipse invecturus caelo excepit.*

We understand what ideal was in the mind of those orators who believed that Constantine had seen his Apollo *comitante Victoria*, and claimed that in the god's features Constantine had recognized himself.[67] Like Britain, the land over which his father had wielded power and which was governed by Constantine, the Emperor himself knew not the Dark, because he conquered it. He, the likeness of the Sun-god, was the perpetual *Claritas*, was the *Oriens*, the Rise without setting.

These were not metaphors produced by a rhetor's whim. They were stock phrases of imperial solar theology such as were current in the age of transition, images which the panegyrist here applied to Constantine, the *oriens imperator*,[68] and which by that time were freely applied also to the *salvator oriens*, to "the man whose name was Oriens." This terminology, needless to say, did not originate on the banks of the Tiber or Thames. It emerged from the ancient Near East, penetrated into the Hellenistic kingdoms as well as into the Roman Empire, and finally conquered the Christian Church as well.

Solar similes, including that of the "Sunrise," were applied to the Pharaohs of ancient Egypt in almost infinite numbers. In a hymnic letter of the age of the 19th Dynasty, the Pharaoh is addressed as the rising Sun:

> [Turn] thy face unto me, thou rising Sun
> That illumineth the Two Lands with its beauty!
> Thou Sun of Mankind, that banisheth the darkness from Egypt.
> Thou art like thy father Rē', who ariseth in the firmament.[69]

This is only one example to illustrate the general mood. We recognize familiar metaphors: The Pharaoh *oriens*, a likeness of Rē' rising in the firmament; or the "Sun of Mankind" banishing darkness from the kingdoms and giving perpetual light to Egypt. Admittedly, we may say, these are comparisons, very natural (if somewhat exaggerated) comparisons between the king and the Sun-deity, which draw their language from equally natural phenomena. When, however, we turn to the worship of the Persian Great King we quickly understand that *Oriens*, the Rise, meant not comparison, but indicated a strange co-equality of ruler and light, and that the "Rise" was actually a cultual term. Mithras himself, we recall, was originally a god of the Morning Light.[70] Hence, Mithras also was the true *Oriens:* but since the Parthian king claimed to be

[67] *Paneg.* VI(VII), 21, 4–5, Baehrens, 217f.; Galletier, II, 72.

[68] *Paneg.* VII(VI), 1, Baehrens, 220; Galletier, II, 16.

[69] A. Erman and H. Ranke, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, trsl. by H. M. Tirard (London, 1894), 66f.; Ivan Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East* (Uppsala, 1943), 6. In general see Jules Baillet, *Le régime pharaonique* (Paris, 1912–1913), I, 16 (notes. 1–5), 406, and *passim;* Henri Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago, 1948), 148ff. Not only the Pharaoh, but also the Roman emperor was considered the "son of the Sun"; cf. Eduard Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1924), 132, note 4; also Erwin Pfeiffer, *Studien zum antiken Sternglauben* (Stoicheia, II; Leipzig-Berlin, 1916), 101, note 5.

[70] See *supra*, note 34. For the connections between Mithras and Shamash (likewise the Sun rising above the mountains), see E. Will, *Le relief cultuel*, 206f., fig. 38. Also, for the Israelitic king as *Phosphoros*, the Morning Star (Ps. 109), J. Coppens. "Le Psaume CX et l'idéologie royale Israélite," *The Sacral Kingship* (Leiden, 1959), 338, note 10.

"throne-sharer of Mithras" (σύνθρονος θεῷ Μίθρᾳ),[71] he, the king, did not rise *like* the Sun in the sense of a poetical comparison or metaphor, but rose together *with* the Sun, with his throne-sharer Mithras. "The one rising together with the Sun" (Ἡλίῳ συνανατέλλων) actually formed part of the official title of the Great King. The Alexander Novel, such as we know it, was composed in the late third century A.D., that is, at a time when the solar theology had already conquered the Roman Empire and left the imprints of its symbols on the imperial style. The titles of the Persian king mentioned in the Novel are nevertheless accurate.[72] They are also found, at least in essence, in the great inscription of Antiochus of Commagene, a descendent of the same Darius who was defeated by Alexander the Great.[73] King Darius, according to the Alexander Novel, had the title "Kindred of the gods, and throne-sharer of the god Mithras, and the one rising together with the Sun" (θεῶν συγγενὴς σύνθρονός τε θεῷ Μίθρᾳ καὶ συνανατέλλων Ἡλίῳ), or simply, "the one rising with Helios." The Persian style may be even reconstructed from the Latin version found in Ammianus Marcellinus: *particeps siderum, frater Solis et Lunae.*[74] That the word ἀνατέλλειν had its set place in the Persian royal style is further confirmed by Theophylactus Simocattes who wrote in the late sixth century. For he records that Chosroe II used the title "He that rises together with the Sun and lends his eyes to the Night"[75]—implying, of course, that with and for the king there was no darkness. If we consider the extraordinary influence that Persia in general and especially Mithraism exercised on Roman imperial thought,[76] we may understand that *Oriens Augusti* was far more than a felicitous and pleasant comparison. It was apparently a Mithraic metaphor suggesting that the Roman emperor, not unlike the Persian king, was one "rising together with the Sun."

Although *Oriens Augusti* is clearly described by the intellectual and religious climate of the third century, the underlying idea of the emperor's "Rising," his Ἀνατολή, is considerably older than that, and the term itself could be almost identical with *Adventus* or Epiphany. It should be remembered that *anatéllein* was a technical term of astronomy not only with reference to the rise

[71] *Historia Alexandri Magni* (Ps. Callisthenes), I, 36, 2, ed. by W. Kroll (Berlin, 1926), 40, 21.

[72] Ps. Callisthenes, *loc. cit.*, and I, 38, 2, Kroll, 42, 21; II, 16, 10, Kroll, 86, 23.

[73] For the Nemrud-Dagh inscription, first published by K. Humann and O. Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien* (Berlin, 1890), 262ff., and since reprinted frequently, see Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, II, 89ff., and M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis Mithriacae* (The Hague, 1956), I, 54, No. 32. Joseph Wallis, *Sprache und Stil der grossen griechischen Inschrift vom Nemrud-Dagh in Kommagene* (Heidelberg, 1920), 33, stresses the coincidence of the king's birthday (official or natural one?) with that of Mithras.

[74] Ammianus Marcellinus, XVII, 5, 3: *particeps siderum, frater Solis et Lunae*. Cf. Geo. Widengren, "The Sacral Kingship of Iran," *The Sacral Kingship* (Leiden, 1959), 246; Alföldi, *RM*, L (1935), 143. The Latin Alexander Novel, of course, translates the title verbatim; cf. Julius Valerius, *Res gestae Alexandri*, I, 37, ed. by Kuebler (Leipzig, 1878), 43, 3: *unaque oriens cum Sole Darius*; also I, 40, Kuebler, 50, 2ff.: *consessori dei Mithrae simulque cum sole orienti.*

[75] Theophylactus, *Historiae*, IV, 8, 5, ed. by C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1887), 164. Cf. Carl Clemen, *Griechische und lateinische Nachrichten über die persische Religion* (*RgVV*, XVII:1 [Giessen, 1920]), 193; A. Christensen, *L'empire des Sassanides* (Copenhagen, 1907), 88. He that "lends his eyes to the night" was Mithras; see J. Hertel, *Die Sonne und Mithras im Awesta* (Leipzig, 1927), 193ff., 197ff.

[76] Alföldi, *RM*, XLIX (1934), 6ff., reduces the Persian influence to its proper proportions, though without denying in the course of his study the existence of such influences.

of the sun, but also to that of other heavenly bodies, and in that sense it intruded at an early date into the language of the cult of the Roman emperors. Already Augustus was praised, in an inscription at Phylae, as the luminary of all Greece "who had arisen as the great savior Zeus" (ὅς σωτὴρ Ζεὺς ἀνέτειλε μέγας).[77] There may be added a papyrus praising the Emperors Severus and Caracalla as the lords "who have risen in their Egypt" (ἀνατείλαντες ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν Αἰγύπτῳ).[78] Another papyrus is interesting in view of the later practice in Byzantium, because here the word ἀνατέλλειν is used in an acclamation at the hippodrome in order to celebrate the "epiphany" of Vespasian in Alexandria.[79]

The corresponding phraseology will be found in the Latin orbit as well. We may disregard perhaps some very general statements referring to an emperor's accession as a *salutaris exortus* or comparing this event to "the rise of a luminary of salvation for the human race,"[80] but we should not be insensible to their tone of savior-expectation, to the "litany style."[81] There are, however, other utterances which more specifically illustrate the *Oriens Augusti* motif. Statius, for example, greeting Domitian on a New Year's day when the latter entered upon his new consulate, said quite straightforwardly: *Atque oritur cum sole novo, cum grandibus astris.*[82] Domitian's "rising together with the new sun" is reminiscent, to be sure, of the Persian royal style, since *oritur cum sole* is the equivalent of Ἡλίῳ συνανατέλλει. Moreover, Statius remarks that the rising emperor outshines the rising sun and heavenly bodies *(clarius ipse nitens)*. The theme of a competition between imperial sun and physical sun was not a new theme. Implicitly this idea was expressed by the Asiatics honoring Caligula in an inscription: "The new Sun, Caius Caesar Augustus Germanicus...shall

[77] The inscription (*CIG*, 4923, lines 3–4) has been referred to very often; see, e.g., Alföldi, "Der Weltherrscher in der IV. Ekloge Vergils," *Hermes*, LXV (1930), 370; Sauter, *Der römische Kaiserkult bei Martial und Statius* (Stuttgart, 1934), 140f., who (138–153) has collected important material on the emperor as *sidus*; see also J. Stroux, "Die Zeit des Curtius," *Philologus*, LXXXIV (1929), 233–251, for related material.

[78] F. Preisigke, *Sammelbuch griechischer Papyrusurkunden* (1915–1922), I, No. 4284, 13; cf. Wilhelm Schubart, "Das Gesetz und der Kaiser in griechischen Urkunden," *Klio*, XXX (1937), 60.

[79] P. Jouguet, "L'arrivée de Vespasian à Alexandrie," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, XXIV (1942) 21–23, esp. 25ff., offers a reconstruction of the defective text differing from the one suggested by him in his study "Vespasien acclamé dans l'hippodrome d'Alexandrie (P. Fouad Ier, 8)," *Mélanges de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes offerts à Alfred Ernout* (Paris, 1940), 201–210. See, however, André Aymard, "L'investiture divine d'Alexandre et l'investiture impériale de Vespasien en Égypte," *Revue des études anciennes*, XLIX (1947), 371ff., who calls Jouguet's reconstruction very daring.

[80] Pliny, *Nat.hist.*, XXXIII, 3 (41); *Paneg.Lat.*, III, 2, 3, ed. by Baehrens, 132, 20, and ed. by H. Gutzwiller, *Die Neujahrsrede des Konsuls Claudius Mamertinus vor dem Kaiser Julian* (Basel, 1942), II, 3, p. 28; also, for additional places, p. 110. Further Seneca, *Consolatio ad Polybium*, 13, 1, and Hellfried Dahlmann, "Studien zu Senecas *Consolatio ad Polybium*," *Hermes*, LXXII (1937), 312ff., 315ff. Theodosius was a *novum sidus*; cf. Claudian, *De tertio consul. Honorii*, 170ff., ed. by M. Platnauer (Loeb), I, 282, and O. Weinreich, "Gebet und Wunder," *Genethliakon Wilhelm Schmid* (Stuttgart, 1929), 239f. See also the studies of Alföldi, "Der Weltherrscher der IV. Ekloge Vergils" (*supra*, note 77), 380ff., and of Stroux (*supra*, note 77), 239.

[81] See, for the "litany style," Alföldi, *RM*, XLIX (1934), 82ff., and L (1935), 86ff.

[82] Statius, *Silvae*, IV, 1, 3–4; cf. Sauter, *Kaiserkult bei Martial*, 139. The connection of New Year with the "rising" of the ruler is of course very old; cf. Baillet, *Le régime pharaonique*, I, 16 (note 3), 379; Engnell, *Divine Kingship*, 33ff, 63ff., and *passim*; also C. J. Gadd, *Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient Near East* (London, 1948), 48ff.

with his own rays shine forth together with [Helios]."[83] And a similar idea is reflected by the distichs in which the island of Rhodes boasts of receiving equal light from both Helios and Caesar: "I was near extinguished when a new ray gave light to me, Helios, and aside thy brilliance shone Nero."[84] Where a νέος Ἥλιος, a *Sol novus*, makes its appearance there will always be a danger of the new Sun outshining the old one, and of the new Sun being acclaimed as the new savior.[85] Such a tendency is found, for example, in Curtius Rufus. This historian sets the decline and disintegration of Alexander's empire against the flourishing empire of the Roman people. The latter, he writes, was safe owing to the *princeps* "who, in the night which was almost our last, shone forth like a new luminary. The rise of this star—by Hercules!—and not that of the sun has restored light to a world in darkness."[86] We find a similar compound of ideas in Martial also who asserts that even if the emperor arrive by night, his Advent will be daylight to the people.[87]

In the course of time, not only the emperors, but most of the gods were identified in one way or another with the Sun-god, or themselves became *orientes*. *Iovi exorienti* was the inscription on a coin distributed by Gallienus for his son Saloninus, who thus was compared or correlated with the new-born Zeus.[88] Iuppiter Heliopolitanus, the Syrian Sun-god, likewise indicates a possibility of equalizing two deities.[89] Another possibility may be gleaned from a gem inscription in which Zeus is acclaimed: "One is Zeus Serapis, the Holy Name, Zebaoth, the Light, the Rising (Ἀνατολή)." This Zeus, too, is a solar deity, he is Ζεὺς Ἥλιος μέγας Σεράπις, a cumulation of divine names which had become the custom in the syncretisms of late antiquity and which also the Christian God was not spared.[90] In the so-called *Debate on Religion at the Sassanian Court*, a legendary composition of the fifth century, it is said that an inscription was dedicated "To Zeus Helios the great godking Jesus (Διὶ Ἡλίῳ θεῷ μεγάλῳ Βασιλεῖ Ἰησοῦ)."[91] The rising Helios in imperial attire within the

[83] Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscript. Graec.* (3rd ed., 1917), No. 798; (2nd ed.), No. 365. Cf. Weinreich, *ARW*, XVIII (1915), 35, note 1; Sauter, *Kaiserkult*, 141; H. P. L'Orange, "Sol invictus imperator," *Symbolae Osloenses*, XIV (1935), 103; P. Riewald, *De imperatorum Romanorum cum certis dis et comparatione et aequatione* (Halle Diss., 1912), 314f., note 90ff., for Nero and other emperors as "new suns." See, for related material (συναναλάμπειν etc.), *Papyri Osloenses*, ed. Eitrem and Amundsen (Oslo, 1936), III, 188, No. 126, 4, also II, 128, No. 52, 18.

[84] *Anthologia Palatina*, IX, 178 (Antiphilus of Byzantium); Sauter, *Kaiserkult*, 141; L'Orange, *op. cit.*, 103, note 3, and his "*Domus aurea*—Der Sonnenpalast," *Serta Eitremiana* (Oslo, 1942), 69f.; Riewald, *op. cit.*, 278.

[85] See, for νέος Ἥλιος in general, A. D. Nock, "Notes on Ruler-Cult," *JHSt*, XLVIII (1928), 33ff. By the fourth century not only emperors but others as well became "Second Suns"; see W. Vollgraff, "Argos dans la dépendance de Corinthe au IVe siècle," *L'Antiquité classique*, XIV (1945), 8, for one Kallinikos (Kaibel, *Epigr.*, 906) whom the poet called γαίης Ἰλλυρίδος δεύτερον ἠέλιον.

[86] Curtius Rufus, X, 9, 3; cf. J. Stroux, "Die Zeit des Curtius," *Philologus*, LXXXIV (1929), 238ff., who shows very clearly the interdependence of those images with rhetorical *topoi* as offered by Menander and others; Alföldi, "Der neue Weltherrscher," 381.

[87] Martial, VIII, 31f.; Sauter, *Kaiserkult*, 139.

[88] See Alföldi, "The Numbering of the Victories of the Emperor Gallienus," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 5th Ser., vol. IX (1929), 270ff. See also my paper on *Puer exoriens* (*supra*, note 3).

[89] For Juppiter Heliopolitanus, see, e.g., Cook, *Zeus*, I, 551ff.

[90] Erik Peterson, Εἷς θεός (Göttingen, 1926), 238, note 2, and 239.

[91] Cf. E. Bratke, *Das sogenannte Religionsgespräch am Hofe der Sassaniden* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur altchristlichen Literatur und Geschichte, N. F. IV: 3, 1899), 18, 3; F. J. Dölger, *Sol Salutis*, 60; Franz Boll, *Aus der Offenbarung Johannis* (Stoicheia, I [Berlin, 1914]), 48.

zodiac would finally, in the Middle Ages, display the features of a Chris Helios (fig. 29).[92]

Oriens was drawn eventually even into the orbit of demonology. For as one of the four regions of the world, *Anatolē* became a demon in her own right who came to be identified with the archangel Uriel; *Anatolē* was also the name of one of the ten *Horae*, and a strange coin or *tessera* of the third or fourth century A.D. shows on one side the radiate head of *Sol* with the inscription *Anatolē* and on the other side the Moon with the insription *Dysis* (fig. 6).[93] But within this orbit it was probably more consequential that the Scarab, the sacred sun-beetle, was invoked as "the Lord of the Rising (δεσπότης Ἀν[τολίης])," or as "Titan rising firelike (Τίταν πυροεὶς ἀνατ[ί]λας)." For the Scarab was quite often identified, for example by St. Ambrose, with the new Sun, the *Sol salutis*, that had risen over the Roman world, that is, with *Christus Oriens ex alto*.[94]

2. Christus Oriens

The solar names and attributes, images and predications of Christ in the early Christian centuries have been discussed so profoundly by Hermann Usener, and have been treated, in more recent years, so exhaustively by the late Franz Joseph Dölger that relatively few words will suffice to indicate the character of the *Oriens* idea in its Christian garb.[95]

Oriens as a name or predication of Christ—*Oriens Christi figura* writes Tertullian[96]—is not derived from the Roman cult of emperors, but from the same Near Eastern stratum, the same world of thought from which also the *Oriens Augusti* idea had borrowed its strength, that is, from the solar theologies at large which were characteristic of the Near Eastern religions. The language of some of the books of the Old Testament—Psalms, Wisdom of Sirach, Prophets —was, like every cultual-poetical language, rich in solar metaphors and similes describing the exalted nature of the divine or the glorified human

[92] Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS lat. 7028, fol. 154; H. Bober, in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XI (1948), 14, note 3, and pl. III, b. See also Brendel, *Die Antike*, XII, 280; Hugo Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter* (London, 1938), pl. XXVII, fig. 87.

[93] Preisendanz, "Oriens," *RE*, XVIII:1, col. 1031; A. Delatte, *La catoptromancie grecque et ses dérivés* (Liège, 1932), 80, 98, 103. P. Perdrizet, "L'archange Ouriel," *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, II (1928), 241 ff., does not seem to consider this function of Uriel. *Anatolē* was also the name of one of the ten *Horae*; Peterson, *op. cit.*, 238, note 2. The bronze coin or *tessera*, in the British Museum, will be discussed by Professor Andreas Alföldi who generously placed the photographs at my disposal for publication. See, however, fig. 3 for *Sol* on the obverse and *Luna* on the reverse of Republican coins.

[94] K. Preisendanz, *Papyri graecae magicae* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1928), I, 40 (P. III, 210). See also p. 26 (P. II, 108), where Apollo as a child sitting on the lotos is called *Antoleus*. For St. Ambrose, see F. J. Dölger, "Christus im Bilde des Skarabäus," *Antike und Christentum*, II (1930), 230–240, and III (1932), 280 ff. See also G. Foucart, "Sur quelques représentations des tombes thébaines," *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, XI (1917), 292 ff.

[95] Usener, *Weihnachtsfest*, 357 ff.; Dölger, *Sol Salutis*, esp. 149 ff., and the same author's *Die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit und der Schwarze* (Münster, 1918), in addition to the numerous passages in the volumes of his *Antike und Christentum*, esp. vol. VI (1950), 1–56, the discussion of a Christmas sermon of Bishop Zeno of Verona.

[96] Tertullian, *Adv. Valentinianos*, c. 3, 1, ed. by Kroymann (*Corpus Christianorum*, ser. lat., II [1954]), 754 f: *Amat figura spiritus sancti orientem, Christi figuram.* Cf. Dölger, *Sol Salutis*, 143.

being. It is, however, a different matter to compare the deity with Sun and Sunrise, or to isolate the "Rising" and use it as a name of a divine being or a divine-humane savior. *Oriens* as a name goes far beyond a simple comparison or metaphor. The verses of Zacharias announcing the theophany of one called *Oriens* ('Ανατολή) have therefore startled the exegetes, Jewish as well as Christian, from early times. "Behold, I will bring my servant the Orient" (Zach. 3: 8), and "Behold a man, the Orient is his name" (Zach. 6: 12)—these are prophecies which have indeed a strange, even mysterious ring. And these prophecies were echoed by the Gospel of St. Luke which claimed their fulfilment: "The Orient from on high (*Oriens ex alto*, ἀνατολὴ ἐξ ὕψους) hath visited us" (Luke 1: 78). On the other hand, the decisive impulses for developing a Christian "solar theology" came from the portentous words of Malachi, (4: 2): "Unto you that fear my name, the Sun of Righteousness (*Sol iustitiae* Ἥλιος τῆς δικαιοσύνης) shall arise." At an early date the notions of "Sunrise" and "Sun of Justice (Righteousness)" have been linked together; for already in the Hellenistic-Jewish *Book of Wisdom* (5, 6) those two predications appeared jointly, if in the form of a lament at their disappearance.[97] And with reference to Christ, both *Oriens* and *Sol iustitiae* will be found in conjunction, over and over again, in the liturgies or liturgical chants of the Church, since these two names seemed so fittingly to support and interpret each other.

Whereas the divine name of *Sol iustitiae* imposed no material difficulties to either understanding or interpretation, many exegetes have been puzzled by the word *Oriens* as the name of a man, that is, of the Messiah. And difficulties indeed there are. In the Hebrew text of Zacharias 3: 8, and 6: 12, we find the word *Zemach* where the Vulgate has *Oriens*. The Hebrew *Zemach* has the meaning of "offspring" or "shoot," which the King James version of the Bible renders correctly with "branch," whereas Luther leaves the Hebrew word untranslated. *Zemach*, all by itself, has no connection with solar ideas or solar theology although the word in the sense of "sprouting forth" would have the connotation of "appearing" as well. The solar connotation of *Zemach* came in only through the translation of the Seventy. For they translated *Zemach* by ἀνατολή, which renders the meaning correctly if it is used in the sense of *ortus*, "offspring." But the Greek word ἀνατολή meant also, and above all, the "Rise" or "Sunrise," and therewith the solar implications superseded the original meaning and finally became dominant. In short, the "offspring of the House of David" or the "offspring of the Highest" finally became an *Oriens ex alto*, a "Sunrise from on high" (Luke 1: 78), a phrase the sense of which, to say the least, is not self-evident.[98]

Moreover, *Oriens* or *Anatolē* meant not only the Rise or Sunrise, but also the East, the geographic "Orient." Hence, the interpretation of the verses of

[97] *Sapientia*, 5:6: ...*et iustitiae lumen non luxit nobis, et sol intelligentiae non est ortus nobis*. Cf. Dölger, *op. cit.*, 155.

[98] The problem, far more complicated than indicated in this paragraph, has been clarified and efficiently dealt with by Adolf Jacoby, "'Ανατολὴ ἐξ ὕψους," *ZNTW*, XX (1921), 205–214; cf. Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch* (Munich, 1924), II, 113 (on Luke 1:78).

Zacharias and Luke in the sense of "eastern direction," that is, in that of the "Orientation" of prayers (in the *kiblah* sense), is found in the early Christian centuries as often as in the sense of the Rising.[99]

The ambiguity of the word ἀνατολή as a rendering of the Hebrew *Zemach* is responsible for the bewilderment of the early exegetes and for their interpretation of "Rising" in the sense of a solar metaphor. Writes Philo:

> A strange thing to call a man the "Rising." But if you mean that immaterial man who is identical with the image of God, you will admit that "Rising" was happily given to him as a most appropriate name. For the Father of All made him to rise as his eldest Son, whom elsewhere he named "First-Begotten."[100]

Philo was still aware of the fact that *Anatolē* originally had the meaning of off-spring or shoot, and therefore identified the "Rising" with the "First-Begotten of the Father of All." And yet, Philo too in some respects initiated the future solar identification of the one whose name was "Rising." He identified him with the First-Begotten and thereby with the Logos. For, writes Philo on another occasion, the Logos

> does not set nor is he extinguished; but the right Logos (ὀρθὸς λόγος) is ever born to rise, and just as (so I believe) the rising sun fills the darkness of the ether with light, so will virtue, when it rises in the soul, illuminate its darkness and disperse the dense shadow.[101]

In this case the *Anatolē* of the Logos ("charioteer of the powers")[102] is completely interiorized and allegorized: a permanent birth and permanent rise of the "right Logos" in the human soul. By thus spiritualizing the notion of "Sunrise" Philo, here as well as in so many other respects, has prepared the work of the Christian exegetes at Alexandria.[103]

The non-Jewish, Christian interpreters of Scripture understood the "Rising" as a special name of Christ in accordance with the Gospel of St. Luke, but the possibilities of allegorical interpretation remained very numerous even on that basis. *Anatolē* might be taken as an admonition to turn towards the East at prayers.[104] It might be understood as an indication of the rising from the tomb, the Resurrection of Christ as well as man's resurrection from spiritual or factual death.[105] It might further be understood as a reference to baptism, the rebirth of man and his new rising, an interpretation favored perhaps by the fact that baptism in the Greek language was called φωτισμός, "illumination,"

[99] For the orientation of prayers, see, in addition to Dölger, *op. cit.*, 20ff., and *passim*, the study by Erik Peterson, "La Croce e la preghiera verso Oriente," *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, LIX (1945), 52–68, and the first two chapters of his *Frühkirche, Judentum und Gnosis* (Rome-Freiburg-Vienna), 1–35.

[100] Philo, *De confusione linguarum*, 14, 62, ed. by Cohn-Wendland, II, 241, 14ff.; cf. Dölger, 150f.

[101] Philo, *Legum allegoria*, I, 46, ed. by Cohn-Wendland, I, 72, 17ff.; Dölger, 150, note 2.

[102] Dölger, *Antike und Christentum*, VI, 53, note 18; H. A. Wolfson, *Philo* (Cambridge, 1948), I, 345, cf. 236.

[103] For a peculiarly interesting example—one out of hundreds—of this influence, see Frederic Tailliez, "Βασιλικὴ ὁδός: : Les valeurs d'un terme mystique et le prix de son histoire litterale," *Miscellanea Guillaume de Jerphanion* (*Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, XIII [Rome, 1947]), 309ff.

[104] *Supra*, note 99.

[105] Dölger, *Sol Salutis*, 364ff., and *passim*. The same idea, of course, is found time and time again in the Byzantine books of the divine service; see, e.g., *Oktoechos* (Rome, 1886), 139: ἐκ τοῦ Ἅιδου γὰρ ἀνέτειλεν Ἥλιος δικαιοσύνης, Χριστὸς ... οὐράνιος ἄνθρωπος, Θεὸς ἐπίγειος.

and that this light-metaphor was easily linked to the rise of Light in inner man as well as to the "Rising of the Sun of Righteousness." Furthermore, ἀνατολή could be synonymous with "Advent" or "Epiphany," that is, a person's solemn appearance, just as actually an *Adventus Augusti* coin might show the design of *Oriens*.[106] In this meaning the notion of "Rising" was linked to the Advent of Christ in the flesh and to his Manifestation on the Jordan, that is, to the feasts of Christmas and Epiphany; and we shall find that the solar predications of Christ, including that of *Oriens*, abound on those two feast days in the prayers and chants of the Church.

We notice that a vast complex of associations was released by the word *Oriens* or *Anatolē* as a name of Christ. Many of these associations may be traced back to the Alexandrians. Clement of Alexandria was not very specific about the meaning which *Oriens* implied. Vaguely, however, he combined it with man's spiritual "birth-day," his illumination and presumably rebirth by baptism.[107] To Origen, who discussed the epithet on several occasions, *Oriens* in the sense of Christ-Logos became the mediator: "He, Christ, is the man whose name is Orient, who has been made the mediator between God and men." Origen concluded that the faithful should turn at prayers to the East from where the Sun of Righteousness ever rises and where the true Light is born.[108] In connection with the orientation of prayers Origen quoted the appellative of *Oriens* several times.[109] On one occasion, however, he, too, linked *Oriens* to baptism and connected that name, at least implicitly, with the mediatorship of Christ. For, in a remarkable passage, he explained that

> every one who, in one way or another, receives the name of Christ, becomes also a son of the Orient. For so it is written about Christ: "Behold a man, the Orient is his name." Whosoever, therefore, has received the name of Christ, is said to be a son of the Orient.[110]

In other words, the one baptized being a son of the Sunrise becomes one συνανατέλλων, one "rising together" spiritually with Christ-Helios, the mediator, just as the Persian kings and Roman princes were said to be "rising together" with their solar deities. A related idea had been expressed previously by Ignatius of Antioch who visualized death, especially the death of the martyr, as a "Sunrise," a rising towards life eternal and therewith towards glorification with Christ.[111] In the Byzantine service on December 27th, the protomartyr St. Stephen is actually praised because the memory of his mar-

106 On a coin of Victorinus; cf. Cohen, VI, 69, 6; Usener, *Weihnachtsfest*, 358.

107 Clement, *Stromata*, VII, 7, § 43, 6, ed. by Stählin, III, 32: ἐπεὶ δὲ γενεθλίου ἡμέρας εἰκὼν ἡ ἀνατολὴ . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ κυλινδουμένοις ἀνέτειλεν γνώσεως ἀληθείας ἡμέρα κατὰ λόγον τοῦ ἡλίου πρὸς τὴν ἑωθινὴν ἀνατολὴν αἱ εὐχαί. Cf. Dölger, 144 ff. (with note 2.)

108 Origen, *In Leviticum homilia*, IX, 10, ed. by Baehrens (*GCS*), VI, 438, 20 ff: *Ab oriente tibi propitiatio venit; inde est enim "vir cui* Oriens *nomen est"* (Zach. 6:12), *qui mediator Dei et hominum* (1 Tim. 2:5) *factus est."* Cf. Dölger, 168, note 1.

109 Dölger, *op. cit.*, 157 ff.

110 Origen, *In librum Iudicum homilia*, VIII, 1–2 ("De filiis Orientis"), ed. by Baehrens, VII, p. 509, 13 ff: *Omnis quis super se quoque modo nomen suscepit Christi, filius efficitur Orientis. Sic enim scriptum est de Christo: "Ecce vir, Oriens nomen est illi." Quisque ergo Christi suscepit nomen, filius esse dicitur Orientis.* Cf. Dölger, 162; Per Lundberg, *La typologie baptismale dans l'ancienne Église* (Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsalensis, X [Uppsala, 1942]), 174, note 1.

111 Dölger, *Sol Salutis*, 146, on the "birthdays" (i.e. days of their death) of the martyrs.

tyrdom "rises together" with Christ and "shines forth together" with the spiritual Sun.[112]

A different aspect of the spiritual Sunrise was introduced by Justin the Martyr, namely, the competition with the physical sun. No one, writes he, has suffered death for the physical sun, whereas many have suffered death for Christ.

> For more fiery and radiant than the sun in all its power is His Logos of truth and wisdom, who dives into the depths of heart and mind. Therefore speaks the Logos: "Above the sun there shall rise his name [Ps. 71:17]," and Zacharias speaks: "The Rise is his name."[113]

Justin deduced the superiority of the spiritual Sun over the natural sun from the Psalter (Ps. 71: 17); but similar conclusions were reached also by different means. Justin's contemporary, Melito of Sardes, writing under Marcus Aurelius, visualized the Baptism of Christ in the Jordan as the "bath of Helios": the Sun-God's fiery disk dips into the sizzling sea, not to be extinguished, but to appear to the dead in Hades, and then to rise again, refreshed and more beautiful, the next morning in order to appear to the quick. He is truly the *invictus*, for when he leaves the quick on earth he appears to the dead, and vice versa:

> The King of Heaven and Lord of the creation, the Sun of the Rising (ἥλιος ἀνατολῆς), appearing to the dead in Hades and to the quick on earth, he, this only Sun (μόνος ἥλιος οὗτος), has risen from the heaven (ἀνέτειλεν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ; Luke 1: 78: ἐξ ὕψους).[114]

Here Christ-Helios not only has eclipsed the physical sun, but claims exclusiveness: he is the "only Sun."

This tendency grew stronger when, in the fourth century, the Christian authors built up their genuine "solar theology" which they set over against the pagan solar henotheism of *Sol invictus*.

> He is our God.... He is our Sun, the true Sun, who by the plenty of his clarity (*claritatis suae de plenitudine*) lights the most brilliant fires of the world, kin to the stars and shining poles. He, that has been setting once, has risen again (*ortus est rursum*) so as never to repeat his setting.[115]

In this fashion, the new *Sol iustitiae* has been opposed to the pagan *Sol invictus* by Zeno of Verona. The "Rising" was stressed even more emphatically by Maximus of Turin when he discussed, in a Pentecost sermon, the meaning of Sunday.

> The Day of the Lord is so venerable to us and so solemn because on it the Saviour, like the rising Sun (*salvator velut sol oriens*), has rent the darkness of the nether world to shine forth with the light of resurrec-

[112] *Menaia* (Rome, 1889), II, 700 (συνανατέλλουσαν ... τὴν ἔνδοξον τοῦ Πρωτομάρτυρος μνήμην); 702 (Ὡς ἀστὴρ φαεινός, σήμερον συνεξέλαμψε τῇ γεννήσει Χριστοῦ, ὁ Πρωτομάρτυς Στέφανος). See also A. Vaccari, "Frammenti liturgici greci," *Roma e l'Oriente*, VII (1917), 147 (fol. 14, lines 13ff.).

[113] Justin, *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, 121, 1, Migne, PG, VI, col. 757AB; Dölger, *Sol Salutis*, 153f.

[114] Dölger, *op*. cit., 156, note 3, brings the full text; see also *Antike und Christentum*, VI, 9.

[115] Zeno, II, tract.ix (*De nativitate Domini et maiestate*), ed, Migne, PL, XI, 417B; Dölger, *Antike und Christentum*, VI, 1ff. This passage, and the places quoted in the next notes, have all been discussed by Usener, 366ff., as well as by Dölger.

> tion. And therefore this day is called by the people of the profane world "Sun-day" because Christ, the risen Sun of Righteousness *(ortus sol iustitiae Christus)*, has given splendor to that day.[116]

Maximus, who in his exegesis of Sunday followed St. Jerome,[117] eventually, in a Christmas sermon, confronted the "New Sun" with the old physical sun. The latter was subservient to the former, because the *claritas* of the physical sun was renewed *oriente Salvatore:* it was obscured at the agony of Christ, but on the day of his birth it shone with greater than usual splendor and it may have risen even earlier than usual.[118] And where there is a "New Sun," there must also be an "old sun." Hence, Maximus continued:

> The old sun I would call the sun of this world, the sun that suffers eclipses, is excluded by walls, is obscured by clouds. Old sun I would call the one subject to vanity, fearing corruption, apprehensive of judgment.... Old I would call the one lending its light to the crimes of men, the one that does not flee adultery nor shuns homicide.[119]

The sun of the *oriens Dominus*, however, knows no defection—on the contrary, the New Sun is bound to wax while its forerunners decrease.[120] And in a Christmas sermon attributed to St. Augustine the Sun of Righteousness becomes a "sun without setting, ever living and unaffected by the fall of the hours."[121]

We are familiar with this phraseology. The rising of the *sol novus*, the *claritas*, the *deus crescens*, the inferiority of the old sun as compared to the new, the permanent rise of the sun without setting, even the impatience of the physical sun which is willing to rise a little earlier on the ruler's *adventus:* all these were metaphors and images which the ruler in heaven shared with the ruler on earth.[122] These images, however, appear in a new spiritualized setting, indeed so spiritual that the Christian authors felt no embarrassment at saluting Christ, the New Sun, as Apollo—*salve, o Apollo vere*[123]—or styling him *Phaeton Christos*.[124]

At the same time the poets of liturgical chants expounded the theme of the *Oriens*, especially in connection with Christmas and the "Feast of Lights," Epiphany,[125] but also on other feasts of the liturgical year. Even a rapid and

116 Maximus of Turin, *Homilia LXI*, Migne, PL, LVII, col. 371; Dölger, *Sol Salutis*, 371, note 3.

117 Dölger, 371, note 1.

118 Pseudo-Ambrose (= Maximus of Turin) *Sermo VI*, Migne, PL, XVII, col. 635; Usener, 366.

119 *Ibid.*, col. 636B.

120 *Ibid.*, col. 637.

121 Augustine, *Sermo CXCI*, Migne, PL, XXXVIII, col. 1009, note 1, an exordium at variance with the normal text transmission, which Usener, 366, has put in its correct place; cf. Dölger, *Antike und Christentum*, VI, 3, note 12.

122 *Supra*, notes 64f., 83–87.

123 Paulinus of Nola, *Carmina*, II, 51, ed. Hartel (*CSEL*, XXX), 349.

124 Sophronius, *Anacreontica*, V, 100 (*In Christi baptismum*), Migne, PG, LXXXVII: 3, col. 3760B.

125 For the emphatically solar character of the Epiphany service, see the short but telling pages by P. Hendrix, "La fête de l'Épiphanie," *Congrès d'histoire du Christianisme: Jubilé Alfred Loisy* (Paris-Amsterdam, 1928), II, 213–228. For the very complex problem of Christmas and Epiphany, and for the modern literature on the subject, see Dom Anselm Strittmatter, "Christmas and Epiphany: Origins and Antecedents," *Thought*, XVII (1942), 600–629; Hieronymus Frank, "Frühgeschichte und Ursprung des römischen Weihnachtsfestes im Lichte neuerer Forschung," *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft*, II (1952), 1–24.

superficial leafing through the service books of the Eastern Church reveals to what extent the idea of *Christus oriens* has pervaded liturgical thinking.[126] Not to mention commonplaces referring to Christ as the rising light of the world, the same idea was described more specifically, for example, in a *Hirmos* which was sung on December the 23rd: "Jesus, Light's leader, is risen" (ὁ φωταγωγὸς 'Ιησοῦς ἀνατέταλκεν),[127] whereas, in the preceding *Kontakion* of the Saints, the martyrs were said to "shine forth...like luminaries acting as vicars of the Sun."[128] Or, on Christmas day, the *Exaposteilarion* brings the image of the *Oriens*, by means of a variant of Luke 1: 78, in the superlative: "He has visited us from on high, our Saviour, the Rise of Rises" (ἐπεσκέψατο ἡμᾶς...'Ανατολὴ ἀνατολῶν).[129] On Epiphany, we find in a prayer of Sophronius, among the famous "To-day" acclamations, the versicle: "To-day the Sun without setting has risen, and the universe has been illumined by the Light of the Lord."[130] A short chant at the end of Vespers on Christmas day refers to the Magi:

> Thy birth, Christ our God, has risen for the universe as a light of spiritual knowledge; for through thy birth the star-worshippers have learned from the Star to prostrate themselves before thee as before the Sun of Righteousness and to recognize thee as the Sunrise from on high.[131]

This is the same event which prompted Petrus Chrysologus to remark pointedly: *Ab Oriente ad Orientem veniunt magi.*[132]

Likewise on Christmas Day, a Troparion was sung: "Thou hast risen, Christ, from the Virgin, thou intelligible Sun of Righteousness" (ἀνέτειλας Χριστὲ ἐκ Παρθένου, νοητὲ "Ηλιε τῆς δικαιοσύνης).[133] In fact, the whole compound of images related to *Christus oriens* has been attuned, above all, to the cult of the Virgin Mary. The Greek ἀνατέλλειν like the Latin *oriri* has, of course, also the meaning of "being born," or ἐξανατέλλειν, of Latin *exoriri*, "to issue from." This is undoubtedly the meaning when a *Sticheron* on December 24th praises the Virgin because "from thee there has risen our Lord" (ἐκ σοῦ ἀνατέταλκεν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν).[134] On the other hand, however, the solar connotations of the "Rising" are unmistakable when it is said that the "Sun of

[126] The *Menaia* are quoted according to the *Editio Romana* (Rome, 1892). Completeness of relevant passages is not intended, nor an analysis of either date or authors of the individual chants.

[127] *Menaia*, II, 607 (Dec. 23)

[128] *Menaia*, II, 604: δᾳδουχοῦσι τοῖς ἐν σκότει ὡς φωστῆρες ὑπάρχοντες τοῦ 'Ηλίου. This refers to the martyrs, whereas the twelve apostles are identified with the twelve rays of the sun; cf. Dölger, *Antike und Christentum*, V (1936), 9, note 29e, and VI (1950), 30ff., 36ff.; see also F. Boll, *Aus der Offenbarung Johannis* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1914), 98ff.

[129] *Menaia*, II, 671 (Dec. 25), 678 (Dec. 26).

[130] *Menaia*, III, 138 (Jan. 6): Σήμερον ὁ ἄδυτος "Ηλιος ἀνέτειλε .... Cf. Migne, PG, LXXXIII: 3, col. 4004A, in an Epiphany sermon of Sophronius. The versicle may be far older; it belongs to the rite of the Blessing of the Waters on Epiphany; see *Euchologion* (Rome, 1873), 221; F. C. Conybeare, *Rituale Armenorum* (Oxford, 1905), 417, 425, 432, for the Σήμερον versicles which are found also in the Western Church; cf. A. Baumstark, "Die *Hodie*-Antiphonen des römischen Breviers and der Kreis ihrer griechischen Parallelen," *Die Kirchenmusik*, X (1909), 155ff.

[131] *Menaia*, II, 660 (Dec. 25).

[132] Petrus Chrysologus, *Sermo CLVI* ("De Epiphania et magis"), PL, LII, col. 613B.

[133] *Menaia*, II, 655 (Dec. 25).

[134] *Menaia*, II, 612 (Dec. 24).

Righteousness" has risen from the Virgin, as in the afore-mentioned Christmas Troparion or in a chant of December 23rd: "From the virginal cloud a great Sun has risen for us."[135] The same is true in an *Apolytikion* on Candlemas: "Hail, full of grace, God-bearing Virgin, from thee there rose the Sun of Righteousness."[136] And it is only a slight variation of the theme if a *Hirmos*, on December 23rd, alludes to Isaiah 6: 6, and says: "The Coal, the Sun as previously envisaged by Isaiah, has risen from the virginal womb."[137] Finally, we may mention John of Damascus who used salutations resembling those of the Akathistos Hymn, when in a homily he addressed the Virgin:

> Hail, thou gate, looking towards the East (πύλη ἡ ἀνατολόβλεπτος) from which there appeared the Rising of Life (ἡ τῆς ζωῆς ἀνατολή) diminishing for men the Setting of Death.[138]

Western liturgies also use, though less abundantly than do the eastern ones, the images of the rising *Sol iustitiae;* and the "Rise" as a name of Christ is invoked, for example, in one of the *O*-antiphones sung daily at the *Magnificat* during the last week before Christmas: *O Oriens,/Splendor lucis aeternae,/et Sol iustitiae....*[139]

A remark may be added on certain word-coinages. A new cult will not only adopt old symbols and their emotional values (in this case the emotional value of the god that not only rises, but actually *is* a perpetual Rising, an *Oriens*); it will also coin new words which are meant to emphasize the new interpretation and explanation of an old symbol serving new purposes.[140] The permanency of the imperial light was expressed by implication rather than *expressis verbis.* Coin legends such as *Oriens Augusti*, *Claritas Augusti*, and other notions describing the emperor's permanent victory over the forces of darkness and evil (*invictus*), suggest a perpetual habitus of the emperor as the one who rises, shines forth, protects, or conquers. It remained, however, for the Christian cultual language to coin such new words as would most emphatically express the timelessness of the rising light, apparently in conformity with the timeless eternity of God. Ἀνέσπερος is such a word. "On earth there has risen the Sun without evening" begins a *Theotokion* in the *Oktoechos*.[141] The adjective

135 *Menaia*, II, 598 (Dec. 23): Παρθενικῆς ἐκ νεφέλης μέγας ἡμῖν ἀνατέλλει Ἥλιος. This topos goes back to the fourth century at the latest; cf. Ephrem, *Hymni de B.Maria*, XIX, 4, ed. Lamy, II, 622.

136 *Menaia*, III, 480 (Feb. 2): ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ ἀνέτειλεν ὁ Ἥλιος τῆς δικαιοσύνης.

137 *Menaia*, II, 602 (Dec. 23): ὁ ἄνθραξ, ὁ Ἠσαΐᾳ προοφθεὶς Ἥλιος, παρθενικῆς ἀπὸ γαστρὸς ἀνέτειλε. For Christ (or the Eucharist) as the "Coal," an image already used by Ephrem, see my forthcoming study: "Roma and the Coal."

138 John of Damascus, *Homilia II in Nativitatem B.V. Mariae*, c. 7, Migne, PG, XCVI, col. 689D; see also 692A: Χαῖρε, οὐρανὲ .. ἐξ ἧς ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἥλιος ἀνέτειλε. See also Andrew of Crete, *In annuntiationem B. Mariae*, PG, XCVII, col. 900A, where the Virgin is likewise styled Πύλη [βλέπουσα πρὸς ἀνατολάς].

139 For a few remarks, see Usener, 367; Dölger, *Sol Salutis*, 157, note 1. See the *Liber responsalis* for the *O*-Antiphones on Dec. 23, and for related material on Dec. 24, in Migne, PL, LXXVIII, cols. 732f. It is not the intention here to trace the Western strand.

140 For the changing values of symbols, see the remarks of E. Goodenough, "The Crown of Victory in Judaism," *Art Bulletin*, XXVIII (1946), 139f. For the philological and rhetorical aspects of the problem, see A. D. Nock, "Word-Coinage in Hermetic Writings," *Coniectanea Neotestamentica*, XI (1947), 163ff, esp. 177f.

141 *Oktoechos*, 129: Ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀνέτειλεν ὁ ἀνέσπερος Ἥλιος διὰ τῆς ἐκ σοῦ Παρθενικῆς γεννήσεως. Cf. *Euchologion*, 458 (Prayer at the Dedication of a Church).

ἀνέσπερος, "without evening," is an early Christian coinage which can be traced back at least to Methodius of Olympus (d. 311) who hails the Church "encompassed by the Light without evening," and who, in the beautiful hymn concluding his *Symposium*, acclaims Christ:

> Life's chorus-leader, Christ, Light without evening, hail (Ζωῆς χοραγός, Χριστέ, χαῖρε φῶς ἀνέσπερον).[142]

The essence of the image itself is also found in Latin (*Sol qui nescit occasum, sine occasu, sine nocte*), though only rarely in the form of a new word-coinage, such as *inocciduum*.[143] Besides, *qui nescit occasum* or *sine occasu* might as well, or even better, be the translation of another coinage: ἄδυτος. In the meaning of "not to be entered" (for example, a shrine, a temple) the word was quite common in classical Greek; but in the Christian language it referred to the δύσις, the setting of the sun, and in phrases such as "Light without setting" the adjective ἄδυτος is found, for example, in the *Symposium* of Methodius,[144] and it serves to contrast pointedly the Rise of the Divine Sun in the Epiphany service: "To-day the Sun without setting has risen."[145] Also the somewhat rarer ἀκένωτος, "who cannot be emptied,"[146] belongs to this group of new words, all of which will turn up again in the language of Byzantine ruler worship.

The impact of the *Christus Oriens* idea was reflected not only in the language of liturgical poetry, but also in that of Christian iconography. *Oriens*, we recall, was interpreted also in the sense of the Resurrection.[147] For this concept the recent excavations under the Basilica of St. Peter, in Rome, have produced most interesting evidence. Most of the subterranean chambers hitherto excavated and cleared are not Christian. But Christian, or christianized, was certainly the so-called Mausoleum of the Julii, for in it there have been discovered wall mosaics which are Biblical: Jonah swallowed by the great fish; a fisherman (alluding probably to Matt. 4: 19; Mark 1: 17: "I will make you fishers of men"), and perhaps also a Good Shepherd.[148] Jonah's sojourn of

[142] Methodius, *Symposium*, XI, 286, ed. by Bonwetsch (*GCS*), 133, 5; cf. VIII, 185, Bonwetsch, 87, 14; also W. Christ and M. Paranikas, *Anthologia Graeca Carminum Christianorum* (Leipzig, 1871), 34, 31, and also pp. 174, 198 (Cosmas), 256 (Metrophanes), and *passim*. In the *Menaia* the term ἀνέσπερος is found over and over again; see, e.g., II, 621 (Hirmos on Dec. 24): Ἡσαίας φῶς ἰδὼν ἀνέσπερον; the same verse III, 80 (Jan. 5); see also III, 483 (Feb. 2), and *passim*. For the salutation χαῖρε φῶς ἀνέσπερον, see Dölger, "Lumen Christi," *Antike und Christentum*, V (1936), 8ff. See also *supra*, note 101, for Philo who, however, does not use the word ἀνέσπερος.

[143] Cf. Dölger, *Antike und Christentum*, V, 18f. Petrus Damiani uses the word *lumen inocciduum* (Dölger, *op. cit.*, VI, 21, note 28), and Alanus of Lille, *Anticlaudianus*, V, 283, ed. by R. Bossuat (Paris, 1955), more conventionally uses the term *lux nescia noctis*.

[144] Methodius, *Symposium*, IV, 5, VI, 5, VIII, 3, ed. by Bonwetsch, 51, 21; 69, 22; 84, 24.

[145] Sophronius, *Oratio*, Migne, PG, LXXXVII: 3, col. 4004, also *Menaia*, III, 138 (Jan. 6): Σήμερον ὁ ἄδυτος Ἥλιος ἀνέτειλε ... The versicle belonged also to the Blessings of the Waters on Epiphany; cf. Conybeare, *Rituale Armenorum*, 417, 432. See further, Christ and Paranikas, *Anthologia*, 173, line 234 (Cosmas Melodus); 251, line 184 (*Akathistos* of Joseph the Hymnographer); 256, line 67 (Metrophanes of Smyrna). In the service of Vespers on the Day of St. John Chrysostom, a *stichos* refers to the Saint as τὸν ἀστέρα τὸν ἄδυτον; cf. *Menaia*, II, 135 (Nov. 13).

[146] See, e.g., Apollinaris of Laodicea, *In Psalmos*, LXXIV, 17, Migne, PG, XXXIII, col. 1420.

[147] *Supra*, notes 105, 116. Cf. Dölger, *Sol Salutis*, 364ff. Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Protreptikos*, VIII, 84, 2, ed. Staehlin, I, 63, 19: ὁ Χριστὸς κύριος ὁ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἥλιος. Cf. Speier (next note), 217, note 20.

[148] The literature on the excavations at St. Peter's is enormously rich. It will suffice here to refer to Jocelyn Toynbee and John Ward Perkins, *The Shrine of St. Peter and the Vatican Excavations*

three days and three nights in the belly of the monster before it released the prophet on the dry land was commonly understood (cf. Matt. 12:40) as a prefiguration of the death and the resurrection of Christ.[149] What matters here, however, is the exciting and excellent mosaic in the ceiling of the chamber, even though only its right section has been preserved (fig. 30).[150] The gold ground is covered with leaves and shoots of vine, and only the center remains vacant for the representation of a stern Helios on his chariot. What the ceiling undoubtedly pictures is the Rise of the Sun: the reddish color of the gold ground beneath the wheels and the hind legs of the horses seems to suggest the dawn. The Christian character of the wall mosaics permits but one interpretation of the ceiling mosaic: that the charioteer is Christ or Christ-Helios, the "new and true Sun." Christ-Helios rising on his chariot was an idea not at all foreign to the age of transition, and Firmicus Maternus actually mentions the Resurrection of Christ in the *currus triumphalis*, whereas others interpreted the four horses as the four Gospels.[151] The texts as well as the mosaic are traditional insofar as their symbolic language is borrowed from pagan models; we recall the pictures of emperors, engraved upon coins or chiseled on slabs, rising towards heaven in the quadriga of the Sun-god (see figs. 25, 27).[152] Here the image has been transferred to Christ. The divine charioteer, holding the globe in his left hand, wears a tunic; he is not naked like the Sun-god.[153] The halo surrounding his head and the rays of light shooting forth from it are found also on pagan monuments; but in the mosaic the rays seem to be ar-

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(London-New York-Toronto, 1956), esp. 116f.; Theodor Klauser, *Die römische Petrustradition im Lichte der neueren Ausgrabungen unter der Peterskirche* (Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Geisteswissenschaften, XXIV [Cologne-Opladen, 1956]), 39, notes 54, 108f., and pls. 8–9; Othmar Perler, *Die Mosaiken der Juliergruft im Vatikan* (Freiburger Universitätsreden, N. F., XVI [Freiburg, Switzerland, 1953]), has made the mosaics the subject of a monograph. Hermine Speier, "Die neuen Ausgrabungen unter der Peterskirche in Rom," *Vermächtnis der Antike*, ed. by R. Herbig (Heidelberg, 1950), 199–218.

[149] For Jonah, see Eduard Stommel, *Beiträge zur Ikonographie der konstantinischen Sarkophagplastik* (Theophaneia, X [Bonn, 1954]), 42f., with note 72; Perler, *Juliergruft*, 32f.; Klauser, *Petrustradition*, 108, who (despite Matt. 12:40, 16:4) has certain doubts about the meaning of the Jonah scene in third-century thought. For the Fisherman symbol, see Charles W. F. Smith, "Fishers of Men," *Harvard Theological Review*, LII (1959), 187–203; Perler, *Juliergruft*, 8ff.—Concerning the Good Shepherd, see Th. Klauser, "Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der christlichen Kunst, I," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, I (1958), 20–51, who has made strong restrictions with regard to the Christian character of that figure, especially on sarcophagi. See also Fritz Saxl, "Pagan and Jewish Elements in Early Christian Sculpture," in his *Lectures* (London, 1957), 45–57, esp. 48f., a study to which Professor E. Panofsky kindly called my attention. In the Mausoleum of the Julii, however, the Christian character of that figure is countenanced, e.g., by the frescoes from the cemetery of SS. Peter and Marcellinus, where the Good Shepherd is found also in connection with Jonah scenes, and Jonah in connection with a charioteer scene; cf. F. X. Kraus, *Real-Encyklopädie der christlichen Altertümer*, II (Freiburg, 1886), 355ff., figs. 197, 199 (s.v. "Mahle"); Perler, 38f., and pl. VI.

[150] Klauser, *Petrustradition*, pl. VII; Toynbee and Perkins, pl. XXXII, facing p. 107; Perler, pls. II–III. For a colored reproduction, see the official report: *Esplorazioni sotto la Confessione di S. Pietro in Vaticano, eseguite negli anni 1940–1949*, a cura di B.M. Apollonii Ghetti, et al., prefazione di L. Kaas (Vatican City), I, pl. B, facing p. 38, and pl. C, facing p. 42; also in *Life* magazine of March 20, 1950, p. 71. See also Speier (*supra*, note 148), 217 and pl. 66.

[151] Firmicus Maternus, *De errore profanarum religionum*, XXIV, 4, ed. by K. Ziegler (Leipzig, 1907), 61, 23; Dölger, *Antike und Christentum*, VI, 51–56, has collected a considerable amount of material for the topic of Christ as a charioteer.

[152] This point has been stressed by Klauser, 107.

[153] Klauser, 107, indicates the pagan parallels, but stresses the cruciform arrangement of the rays. Cf. Perler, 45.

ranged in a cruciform manner. At any rate, there can be no doubt concerning the purely Christian character of the mosaic in the ceiling of the Mausoleum of the Julii. This mosaic was quite obviously meant to represent the Ἥλιος τῆς ἀναστάσεως, the Rise of the new "Sun of Resurrection," as befits a sepulchral chamber.

Christ-Helios, of course, is an iconographic type which is not too rare. We may recall that mediaeval *Sol* in imperial garb whose bearded face suggests Christ, placed in the center of the zodiac—a not altogether impossible interpretation, since Christ as the "Lord of the Year" with the apostles as the signs of the zodiac is mentioned frequently by patristic and early mediaeval authors.[154] But these representations do not refer to *Christus Oriens* specifically.

There are, however, most convincing representations of *Christus Oriens* which hitherto have not been evaluated in this connection, even though the iconographic pattern itself is very well known.

We have to start, for obvious reasons, from the illustrations of the so-called *Canticle of Zacharias*, that is, Luke 1: 78. Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, we recall, supposedly harked back to the verses of the Old-Testament prophet Zacharias when he prophesied the visitation of the *Oriens ex alto*. An eleventh-century Greek Gospel manuscript at Paris shows the scene in a simple fashion: Zacharias announces to a group of people the Epiphany of the *Oriens ex alto* who is depicted as the sun disk containing the bust of Christ (fig. 31 a).[155] This representation, which may go back to very early times, has been repeated in numerous Gospels—Greek, Slavic, Georgian, and others as well—and also in innumerable Psalters; for the *Canticle* of Zacharias formed, together with the Canticles of Moses, of Habakkuk, of the Three Hebrews, of the Virgin, of Simeon, and others, the last section of almost every mediaeval Psalter so that there is no dearth of illustrations of this scene. The type of the bust of Christ in the disk of the sun is actually found, as early as the ninth century, in the Chludoff Psalter (fig. 32), where the Helios-Christ has been adapted to the Canticle of Habakkuk.[156] A variation of the theme is found in a Greek Psalter in the Vatican: Zacharias kneeling in prayer while above the rocks there rises in the sky (ἐξ ὕψους), below the ark of heaven, the sun-disk with the bust of Christ (fig. 33).[157]

[154] See *supra*, note 92 (fig. 29), for that mediaeval *melothesia*; cf. F. Saxl, *Lectures* (London, 1957), I, 61 f., II, pl. 35a. Klauser, 107, believes he recognizes a beard around the chin of the charioteer in the Mausoleum of the Julii, but I fail to see it. For the twelve apostles as the twelve rays of the Sun, see Dölger, *Antike und Christentum*, VI, 36–51, and, as the signs of the zodiac, J. Daniélou, "Les douze Apôtres et le zodiaque," *Vigiliae Christianae*, XIII (1959), 14–21.

[155] Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS gr. 74, fol. 107; cf. H. A. Omont, *Évangiles avec peintures byzantines* (Paris, 1908), pl. 95 (here fig. 31 a). See, for our fig. 31 b, Bogdan D. Filov, *Les miniatures de l'Évangile du Roi Jean Alexandre à Londres* (1934), pl. 70, fig. 1.

[156] Chludoff Psalter, fol. 154^{v}. Photograph, courtesy of the École des Hautes Études, Coll. Chrétienne et Byzantine. The picture refers to Habakkuk, 3, 3, a versicle very often quoted liturgically in the Eastern Church; see, e.g., F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (Oxford, 1896), I, 360, 14; 431, 34, and quite often in the hymns of the *Pentekostarion*. Christ in the sun is inscribed μεσηνβρία, south (*Deus ab austro veniet*), whereas the rising natural sun is inscribed ἀνατολή.

[157] Vat. gr. 1927, fol. 285^{v}, ed. by Ernest T. De Wald, *The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint*, III; *Psalms and Odes*, part I: *Vaticanus graecus 1927* (Princeton, 1941), pl. LXXI.

Once it is recognized that the bust of Christ in the sun-disk may have, iconographically, the meaning of *Oriens* or ἀνατολή, we may expect to find the symbol elsewhere also. *Christus Oriens* has been connected not only with the geographic East, with baptism, martyrdom, and resurrection, but above all with the incarnation, and therefore with the epiphany of Christ in the flesh on Christmas. The chants of the Greek Church abound in that season in praise of the rising Sun of Justice, and they refer preferably to St. Mary, the instrument of the incarnation and of the "Rise of Rises."[158]

"From a virginal cloud there has risen for us the great Sun."[159]

"From your body there has risen the luminary of heaven."[160]

"From the Virgin hast thou risen, Christ, the spiritual Sun of Righteousness."[161]

"Hail, thou art highly favored, godbearing Virgin, for from thy womb there has risen the Sun of Righteousness."[162]

Has that "Rise of Rises," the rise of the Sun from the Virgin been represented in Byzantine imagery? One of the most famous images of the Holy Virgin was the *Blachernitissa*, the miracle-working Virgin of the Church of the Blachernae Palace built by the Empress Pulcheria. What the original picture was like is uncertain, though the type may be conjectured. Most likely it showed an *Orans*, the Virgin standing frontally, her two arms raised, and dressed in the mantle which had been brought from the Holy Land to Constantinople.[163] The type can be recovered, for example, from eleventh-century coins of Constantine IX Monomachus and from a seal (fig. 34a).[164] During the Iconoclastic Struggle the original picture disappeared. But when, after the Restoration of Orthodoxy, the whole complex of problems and arguments related to the Incarnation became a matter of greatest importance because only the incarnate Christ could be represented in images, a variant of the *Blachernitissa* made its appearance: the Virgin from whose body the Sun of Righteousness was visibly rising. This, at least, seems to be the meaning of the new type of a *Blachernitissa* having on, or above, her breast a medallion-like disk showing the bust of the incarnate Christ (fig. 34b).[165] It seems that this would be the type referred to by Constantine Porphyrogenitus under the name of

[158] See, for Ἀνατολὴ ἀνατολῶν, *Menaia*, II, 671, 687 (Exaposteilarion, Dec. 25); also *supra*, note 129.

[159] *Menaia*, II, 598 (Kanon, Dec. 23).

[160] *Menaia*, II, 607 (Theotokion, Dec. 23).

[161] *Menaia*, II, 655 (Troparion, Dec. 25).

[162] *Menaia*, III, 480 (Apolytikion, Feb. 2).

[163] Jean Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance* (Paris, 1921), 45f.

[164] For the coins, see W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum* (London, 1908), II, pl. LIV, fig. 14, p. 476, note 1: first appearance on coins of the Virgin with the medallion of Christ (under John Zimisces [969–976]), and pl. LIV, figs. 3–11, p. 502ff., No. 15ff., for other representations of the Blachernitissa; see pl. LIX, fig. 5, p. 503, No. 18, for the legend BLACHERNITISSA. For the seal, see Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires*, 50, fig. 7.

[165] Ebersolt, *op. cit.*, 50, figs. 8–9. One of those seals (fig. 8) has the inscription Ἐπίσκεψις; the same seal displays the disk with rays, unless these are folds of the Virgin's mantle. It is possible that several similar types had the collective name *Blachernitissa;* see the discussion by Oskar Wulff, *Die Koimesiskirche in Nicäa und ihre Mosaiken* (Strasbourg, 1903), 258ff. See also André Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin* (Paris, 1957), 253ff.

Episkepsis.[166] It is true, the display of the medallion bust of Christ was the insignia of the Iconophiles and it was displayed very often as an *imago clipeata* held by the Virgin or by angels.[167] What surprises the observer is that the *Blachernitissa* does not hold the image in her hands as otherwise she so often does, but that as an *Orans* she has her hands lifted. Thus the disk was, as it were, floating on or above the breast of the Virgin, or as though it were one with the Virgin. This strange independence of the disk or medallion, which remained in its place without being held by the hands of the Virgin, has led André Grabar to interpret the disk with the image of Christ as featuring the Incarnate God in the womb of his Virgin Mother.[168] In fact, there are numerous representations where the Child is seen in the transparent body, that is, in the womb of the Virgin;[169] Grabar, therefore, took the medallion with the image of Christ to refer to the Annunciation as the moment of the Incarnation. The Virgin with the disk of Christ above her breast, however, differs widely from representations showing, by the transparency of her body, the Child in St. Mary's womb.[170] Moreover, the *Blachernitissa* with the sun-like disk on her breast, which is patterned after the model of the Helios-Christ in the manuscript illustrations of Luke 1: 78, has the name of Ἐπίσκεψις (fig. 34c), the Visitation,[171] which reminds us of the verse in Luke 1: 78: ἐπισκέψεται ἡμᾶς ἀνατολὴ ἐξ ὕψους, "The Rise from on high has visited us." It is true, of course, that in the hymns of the Eastern Church the Virgin herself is called "Visitation of the weak, of the miserable, of the sick."[172] But she is the "Visitation" only because through her as the medium "The Rise from on high has visited us to give light to them that sit in darkness." No doubt, the Child in the disk high on the bosom of the Virgin refers to the Incarnation and is the "sign" of the Incarnation, but it indicates the Birth, the Ἀνατολή or "Rise"

[166] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De caeremoniis*, II, c. 12, ed. by Reiske, 553: καὶ ἀπέρχονται (the emperors) ἀπὸ δεξίας εἰς τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν, καὶ ἅπτουσιν κἀκεῖσε κηροὺς καὶ προσκυνοῦσιν.

[167] Grabar, *L'iconoclasme*, 252f., cf. figs. 69, 138–140.

[168] Grabar, *op. cit.*, 254f.

[169] For the problem, see G.-H. Luquet, "Représentation par transparence de la grossesse dans l'art chrétien," *Revue archéologique*, 5th Ser., XIX (1924), 137–149, a study to which Professor Panofsky kindly called my attention.

[170] Grabar, *Recherches sur les influences orientales dans l'art balkanique* (Paris, 1928), 75f. and pl. VI, fig. 3, publishes a miniature from a Serbian Gospelbook (thirteenth century, but relying iconographically upon very early models) showing the pregnancy of Elizabeth; but the child (John the Baptist) is in the womb, and not perched on the breast of Elizabeth. See also *infra*, notes 174, 175. P. Perdrizet, *La vierge de miséricorde* (Paris, 1908), 192 (quoted by Grabar), mentions a German image of that kind, but the two images he reproduces pl. X, figs. 1–2, and p. 85, are Venetian replicas of the Byzantine *Episkepsis* or *Blachernitissa.*

[171] For the *Episkepsis*, see *supra*, note 165f. Also, the silver plaque (thirteenth or fourteenth century) from Ochrida is inscribed *Episkepsis;* cf. N. P. Kondakov, *The Iconography of the Mother of God* [*Ikonografija Bogomateri*] (St. Petersburg, 1915), II, 102, fig. 30, where the Child holds up his hands making either the epiphany gesture or that of blessing. That type, too, survived for many centuries; cf. Bogdan D. Filov, *Die altbulgarische Kunst* (Bern, 1919), 56 and pl. XVII.

[172] Cf. Sophronios Eustratiades, Ἡ Θεοτόκος ἐν τῇ ὑμνογραφίᾳ (Paris, 1930), 23, who has collected a great number of ἐπίσκεψις designations of the Virgin (ἐπ. ἀσθενούντων, ἐπ. πάντων). See also the *Theotokarion*, ed. by Metropolitan Sophronios Eustratiades (Paris, 1931), I, 11 (verse 304ff.), 120 (verse 222), 214 (verse 191f.), 221 (verse 11f.). I am much obliged to Dr. Basil Laourdas, formerly at Dumbarton Oaks, for calling my attention to these works. It is perhaps significant that Andreas of Crete (660–740) has not included ἐπίσκεψις in his catalogue of Marial epithets; *In nativitatem B. Mariae IV*, Migne, PG, XCVII, 861ff.

rather than the Annunciation. This, then, would be in agreement with the aforementioned versicles as well as with others chanted on various occasions: "Dance, O Isaiah; for the Virgin had in her womb, and gave birth to, a son, to the Emmanuel, both God and man, whose name is Sunrise (Ἀνατολή)," or, as a *Hirmos* has it on December 23: "The Coal, the Sun as foreseen by Isaiah, rose from the Virginal womb."[173]

There is, perhaps, a garbled confirmation of this in an early fourteenth-century Flemish manuscript: a *Blachernitissa* type with the disk showing the face of the Sun or of the uncreated Christ from which there shoot forth the flame-like rays of the sun (fig. 35). The miniature, however, represents the apocalyptic woman "clothed with the sun and having the moon under her feet...and being with child, she cried travailing in birth" (Revel. 12: 1). It is a curious crossbreed of the Apocalyptic Woman and the *Blachernitissa*, the latter being clearly the model.[174] Also, in a Munich manuscript of *ca.* 1406, there is a Virgin in the stable, her womb opening and surrounded by rays;[175] whereas a stone sculpture of the Burgundian School, of the middle of the sixteenth century, displays the Virgin showing, on the lower part of her body, the Baby Christ surrounded by rays or flames.[176]

In summa, the Rising of the Sun of Righteousness seems to have been the subject-matter of the *Blachernitissa* type displaying the disk with the image of Christ on the Virgin's breast. Perhaps the Sunrise idea has even been dramatized in the Armenian Church. On the great feasts, the Armenian liturgy intercalates, during the "Great Entrance," when the elements of the sacrifice are carried in solemn procession from the offering table to the altar, a special chant, a *cento* made up of Psalms 18 and 67, Habakkuk 3: 3, and Psalm 23. Just before the Cherubic Hymn is sung, the deacon proclaims: "He hath set his tabernacle in the sun: and he, as a bridegroom coming out of his bridal chamber, hath rejoiced as a giant to run his course." Then, always alternating with the chanters of the Cherubic Hymn, the deacon says when the procession comes towards the East: "Cast up an highway for him that rideth upon the Heaven of Heavens towards the East" (Ps. 67: 33). When he comes towards the South, the deacon says the words from Habakkuk: "God shall come from the South and the Holy One from Mount Paran." Finally, when arriving at the steps of the altar, the last passage of Psalm 23 is voiced: "Lift up your gates, O ye princes, and be lifted up, O eternal gates: and the King of Glory

[173] *Oktoechos* (Rome, 1886), 85: Ἡσαΐα, χόρευε ἡ Παρθένος ἔσχεν ἐν γαστρὶ καὶ ἔτεκεν υἱὸν τὸν Ἐμμανουήλ, Θεόν τε καὶ ἄνθρωπον Ἀνατολὴ ὄνομα αὐτῷ. The *Hirmos* is often repeated; cf. *Euchologion* (Rome, 1873), 173; *Triodion* (Rome, 1879), 285, cf. 284. *Menaia*, II, 602 (Hirmos, Dec. 23): Ὁ ἄνθραξ, ὁ Ἡσαΐα προοφθεὶς Ἥλιος, παρθενικῆς ἀπὸ γαστρὸς ἀνέτειλε.

[174] *Rothschild Canticles*, fol. 63v, Flemish MS of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century; cf. Mirella Levi d'Ancona, *The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance* (Monographs on Archaeology and Fine Arts, VII; College Art Association, 1957), 24f., note 50, and fig. 6. I owe all my knowledge about this MS to the generosity of Professor Erwin Panofsky.

[175] Alfred Stange, *Deutsche Malerei der Gotik* (Berlin, 1936), II, 175, fig. 232, from Clm. 14045 (*ca.* A.D. 1406).

[176] *Petit Palais: La Vierge dans l'art français* (Les Presses Artistiques; Paris, n.d.), pl. 61, catalogue No. 207.

shall enter in...."[177] Therewith the holy action of the Great Entrance has been placed in a new perspective. For there is a drama enacted: the King of Glory, as carried in the elements, is identified with the Sun that comes forth as a bridegroom out of his chamber to run his course to the altar, to the Cross.

It may be mentioned that also in the Western Church Psalm 18: 6–7, formed the text of antiphones which were sung, according to the *Liber responsalis* of the ninth century, in connection with the words *Orietur sicut sol salvator mundi* on Christmas eve. There is, however, a slightly different meaning implied, since the next antiphone reads: *Dum ortus fuerit sol de coelo, videbitis Regem regum* procedentem a Patre *tanquam sponsus de thalamo suo*.[178] Moreover, the *Tollite portas* of Psalm 23 is also sung on Christmas eve according to the *Liber antiphonarius*[179] and both Psalms (18 and 23) are found together on New Year's day in the present *Breviarium Romanum*. But the dramatized mystery of *Christus Oriens* seems to be a peculiarity of the Armenian Church, a feature to be kept in mind on account of the later development.

3. Ἀνατολὴ τοῦ Δεσπότου

In one of his Hymns on Epiphany, Saint Ephrem the Syrian (303–373) pointed out that *Semha* and *Denha* had ruled simultaneously.[180] *Semha*, in Syriac, is the "Splendor" and perhaps the equivalent of Latin *Claritas*. *Denha* means the "Rise," especially Sunrise; it is the Syriac version of Greek Ἀνατολή (Luke 1: 78) and of Hebrew *Zemach* (Zach. 3: 8, 6: 12), and it designates at the same time the "Epiphany" of Christ, that is, the manifestation of his divinity in the Jordan.[181] Splendor or *Claritas* was identified by the Syrian Church Father with the "king on earth," more specifically with Emperor Augustus; and the "Rise" he identified with the "Son in heaven," with Christ. Hence, *Claritas* (Augustus) and *Oriens* (Christ) ruled together at the same time.

The underlying political theology of this synchronism—based upon Luke 2: 1—is well known.[182] It eventually culminated in the concept that the universal monarchy on earth and the universal monotheism in heaven were interdependent. Just as Augustus had abolished the polyarchy of kings by establishing the Roman world monarchy, so had the incarnate Son of God done away with polytheism by establishing man's belief in one God. This alleged parallelism of monarchy and monotheism had been exploited by Origen, Eusebius, and other authors. It became generally prevalent after the Con-

[177] Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, 431 f.
[178] Migne, PL, LXXVIII, col. 733.
[179] *Ibid.*, col. 645A and C.
[180] Ephrem, *In festum Epiphaniae*, II, 1, ed. Lamy, I, 12 f.
[181] *Ibid.*, p. 14, note 1.
[182] The problem has been brilliantly discussed by Erik Peterson, "Kaiser Augustus im Urteil des antiken Christentums," *Hochland*, XXX (1932–1933), 289 ff., and "Der Monotheismus als politisches Problem," in his *Theologische Traktate* (Munich, 1951), 49–147; see also Theodor E. Mommsen, "Aponius and Orosius on the Significance of the Epiphany," *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.* (Princeton, 1955), 96–111.

stantinian peace with the Church. Through the agency of Orosius this concept was to linger on to Dante and beyond, and a faint echo is found in one of the Celtic Catecheses.[183] In the Byzantine Church, an *Idiómelon* on Christmas, composed by the poetess Casia (born *ca.* 810), enlarges upon the symmetry of Augustus and Christ: "When Augustus ruled on earth, there came to end the many kingdoms of men; and when Thou wert made man through the agency of the Virgin, the polytheism of the idols was quashed.... Inscribed were the peoples to the judgment of Caesar; inscribed were we faithful to the name of thy divinity...."[184] It was, however, not the custom to express the congruency of monarchy and monotheism in solar terms;[185] and if Ephrem the Syrian emphasized the simultaneous rule of *Claritas* and *Oriens*, he was apparently influenced by certain trends of his time, perhaps even by the legends of coins still current in his day.

However that may be, the juxtaposition of Sun-Emperor and Helios-Christ in the hymn of the Syrian poet was not lacking some interesting perspective, which would be true not only with regard to the pagan past, but also with regard to the Christian future. For it seems more than doubtful that the pagan idea of a "Sun-kingship" of the ruler on earth would have survived so completely and undisturbedly, as it actually did in Byzantium, had it not been justified by the "Sun-kingship" of the ruler in heaven and its parallelism with that of the ruler on earth. In fact, the introduction of Christianity into the Roman Empire may have prompted Constantine the Great to discontinue, though somewhat reluctantly, his coinage displaying the Sun-god with the legend *Soli invicto comiti Augusti nostri*,[186] but it did not otherwise impair the solar qualifications or solar character of the Christian emperors. For Eusebius, Constantine was still the one "rising together with the Sun"; for Himerios, Helios was still the *propater* of the Constantinian house; and the imperial apostrophe θεῖε ἥλιε βασιλεῦ, "Sun-emperor divine," belonged to the stock-phrases of the Byzantine poets and orators till the end of the Eastern Empire.[187] Nor did the concept of the emperor's "Sunrise" ever disappear from the language of the court ceremonial, notwithstanding the fact that at the emperor's side, or above him, the new "noetic" Helios, the Sun of Justice, had risen. The new faith did not curtail the idea of imperial sun-rulership, but added,

183 Dante, *De Monarchia*, II, 12, ed. by Paget Toynbee, *Le opere di Dante Alighieri* (Oxford, 1924), 362; see also, for Dante and Orosius, Charles Till Davis, *Dante and the Idea of Rome* (Oxford, 1957), 55ff. For the Celtic Catecheses, see André Wilmart, *Analecta Reginensia* (Studi e Testi, LIX [Vatican, 1933]), 99: *Caesar 'possessio principalis' interpretatur; Augustus vero interpretatur 'solemniter stans'. Quae duo nomina Christo conveniunt....*

184 *Menaia*, II, 651 (Dec. 25); cf. Christ and Paranikas, *Anthologia*, 103; Raffaele Cantarella, *Poeti bizantini* (Milan, 1948), I, 141, for the text, and II, 164, for an Italian translation of the poem and the literature on Casia.

185 Origen, *Contra Celsum*, II, 30, ed. by P. Koetschau (Leipzig, 1899), I, 158, 2ff., when discussing the oneness of Justice and Peace (Ps. 71: 7), links the peace of Augustus to the justice of the "Sun of Justice," but does not otherwise use solar metaphors in this connection.

186 A. Alföldi, *The Conversion of Constantine and Pagan Rome* (Oxford, 1948), 55ff.; Patrick Bruun, "The Disappearance of *Sol* from the Coins of Constantine," *Arctos*, N.S. II (1958), 15ff.

187 Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, I, 43, ed. by Heikel, 28, 11f.; Himerius, *Oratio VII*, 9, and *Ecloga XII*, 6, ed. by Dübner (Paris, 1849), 62, 25, and 24, 38; for the address "Sun-emperor divine," see *infra*, note 243.

on the contrary, new strength to the old metaphor. The Christian emperor—the supreme God's *hyparchos* on earth, next to Christ as God's *hyparchos* in heaven[188]—became the *christomimetes* above all others, that is, the one imitating and impersonating, even ceremoniously staging, Christ, the ruler of the universe. Hence, the imperial solar predications, though historically a survival from the pagan past, or a continuation of it, were henceforth backed up and legitimized by the solar nomenclature of Christ himself.

The sun-kingship of the Byzantine emperors, therefore, was not only a residuum of Hellenistic-Roman tradition but also a reflection of the sun-kingship as represented by the Christian God. These two strands were bound to overlap incessantly during the Byzantine millennium although each strand had a life of its own as well. The Hellenistic tradition survived, above all, in the circles of the court *litterati*, poets and rhetors. The Christian influence was felt predominantly within the sphere of the "imperial liturgy," the celebration of feasts of the court and feasts of the ecclesiastical year.[189] But since the court *litterati* also produced poems for the emperor's celebration of Church festivals, whereas the Christian worship in general, and the idea of Christ's sun-kingship in particular, were charged with Hellenistic-Roman elements, it would be futile to try to keep the two strands clearly apart. In fact, the Byzantine poets were eager to interlace the two strands, and thereby they arrived sometimes, like Ephrem the Syrian, at visualizing two Helioi. Thus a twelfth-century poet, Theodoros Prodromos, addressed himself in an Epiphany chant to the emperor and the imperial city in the following lines:

> Light up, Rhomaean City! And once more: Light up!
> Bask in the doubled beams of your *Two Suns*.
> You have the *Sun of Justice*, here, the Father's
> Bright-mirrored splendor, naked in the Jordan.
> And, there, you have the *Sun of Monarchy*,
> The Father's vicar, shining in the palace.[190]

On another occasion the "Helios Basileus" Manuel I, whose theophoric name (Manuel = Emmanuel) was a challenge to poetical metaphors, was addressed by the same poet:

> Thee, the *christos*, I dare style Phoibos too.[191]

[188] Eusebius, *De laud. Constant.*, 3 and 7, ed. by Heikel, 202, 2, and 215, 31. Cf. J. A. Straub, *Vom Herrscherideal in der Spätantike* (Stuttgart, 1939), 121; also Ensslin, *Gottkaiser und Kaiser von Gottes Gnaden*. 61.

[189] For the imperial "liturgy"—the term βασιλικὴ λειτουργία in the broader sense of imperial ceremonial and service actually occurs; cf. Const. Porph., *De caerim.*, II, 52, ed. by Reiske, I, 704, 13 —see the fundamental study of Otto Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell* (Jena, 1938), esp. 49ff.

[190] Theodoros Prodromos, *Poemata*, XVIII, 1–6, ed. by A. Mai. *Patrum nova bibliotheca* (Rome, 1853), VI, 413; cf. E. H. Kantorowicz, "Dante's 'Two Suns'," *Semitic and Oriental Studies Presented to William Popper* (University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, XI [Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1951]), 221.

[191] See the Epithalamium (line 70) of Theodoros Prodromos for the daughter of Manuel I, Theodora: τοίγαρ τολμῶ σε τὸν χριστὸν καὶ φοῖβον ὀνομάσαι; ed. by C. Neumann, *Griechische Geschichtsschreiber und Geschichtsquellen im zwölften Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1888), 67; Konrad Heilig, "Ostrom und das Deutsche Reich um die Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts," in: T. Mayer, K. Heilig, C. Erdmann, *Kaisertum und Herzogsgewalt im Zeitalter Friedrichs I.* (Schriften des Reichsinstituts für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde, IX [Leipzig, 1944]), 247.

This assemblage of Basileus, Christ, and Phoibos on one denominator was hardly startling to ears used to listening to Byzantine court language. To us, however, it may appear like a belated reminder of that "triangle" of Roman Emperor, *Sol invictus*, and *Sol Iustitiae*, which described—as it were, in shorthand—the final settlement between emperor cult, pagan solar henotheism, and Christian monotheism during the fateful age of transition, the fourth century.

The subject here under discussion, is not, however, the Byzantine sun-kingship in general, but more specifically the survival of the sun-rise metaphor, which in Byzantium was always connected with some very conspicuous and spectacular ceremonial, at which the emperor actually "rose." With this tendency there fell in, very distinctly, the great panegyric which Corippus wrote on the accession of Justin II, in 565. He described the Emperor's elevation on the buckler, a ceremony adopted by the Romans, probably from Germanic tribes, as early as the fourth century. Whatever the original meaning of this ceremony may have been, of which Byzantine miniatures furnish a great number of illustrations,[192] to Corippus, the *quaestor sacri palatii*, the elevation on the buckler appeared in an unambiguously "solar" light as the Emperor's Sun-rise. Four select young men, writes Corippus,[193] lifted the "tremendous disk of the shield" (fig. 36). Standing on that disk, the new Emperor became visible and made his appearance.

> Now he is present, the greatest benefactor of the world community, to whom kings bend their necks in submission, before whose name they tremble, and whose *numen* they worship.
>
> There he stands on that disk, the most powerful prince, having the appearance of the Sun.
>
> Yet another light shines forth from the city. This day is truly a marvel, for it allows two suns to rise together at the same time.
>
> Or did my song carry me beyond proper bounds? Perhaps it may puzzle you that I said: *two suns were rising together* and at the same time. But with my mouth I did not produce empty words nor vain figures of speech. The mind of the Just is more resplendent than the sun. It does not merge into the sea; it does not yield to darkness; nor is it concealed by a murky shadow.[194]

[192] For the elevation on the buckler, see Straub, *Herrscherideal*, 61, 231; Treitinger, *Zeremoniell*, 22ff.; G. Ostrogorsky, "Zur Kaisersalbung und Schilderhebung im spätbyzantinischen Krönungszeremoniell," *Historia*, IV (1955), 252ff. The Central-Asiatic origin of the ceremony seems likely; cf. A. Boodberg, "Marginalia to the Histories of the Northern Dynasties," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, IV (1939), 242ff.; also, for later times, Leonardo Olschki, *The Myth of Felt* (Berkeley, 1949), 21ff. This, however, does not contradict the well established theory according to which the Roman soldiers adopted the elevation on the buckler through the agency of Germanic tribes. The custom can be traced, within the Roman orbit, to the fourth century. For a few manuscript illustrations of the scene, see H. P. L'Orange, *Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World* (Oslo, 1953), 103ff., and figs. 76, 78–80; and, for the history of the iconographic pattern, Kurt Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex* (Princeton, 1947), 178ff., and figs. 183, 185–188.

[193] Corippus, *In laudem Iustini*, II, 137f., ed. by Partsch, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores antiquissimi* (Berlin, 1879), III, 130: *Quattuor ingentem clipei sublimius orbem adtollunt lecti iuvenes.* See *infra*, note 199, for *clipeus*.

[194] Corippus, II, 137–158.

The elevation on the buckler was clearly interpreted as the new emperor's "epiphany," his manifestation of imperial dignity not only to his people and his city, but to the world. *Nunc adest* was a *terminus technicus* for a divine appearance,[195] and in this case the ἐπιφανής was hailed as the *maximus orbis communis benefactor*, a notion referring to a person of semidivine character.[196] The subjected kings bend their necks and worship (*adorant*) the *numen praesens* of the emperor as it rises—just as the *Oriens* coins display the rising Sun-god as he puts his foot on the necks or backs of subjected enemies, the demons of darkness.[197] The image, of course, of the defeated worshipping the appearing prince is traditional in connection with *Adventus*-Epiphany scenes, and it is found in the same place until the high Middle Ages.[198] The buckler itself seems to remind the poet of the disk of the sun (*clipeus solis*), whereas the emperor *solis habens speciem* is the Sun himself—a distinction between sun-disk and Sun-god which is not without parallels.[199] Moreover, *solis habens speciem* likewise belongs to the general vocabulary of epiphanies.[200] The emperor on the buckler, however, reminded the poet more specifically of the rising sun: he visualized *geminos consurgere soles*. The word *consurgere* is, of course, the exact equivalent of Greek συνανατέλλειν, a term which reminds us of the

[195] *Nunc adest* (line 145f.) is a formula answering the ritual cries *Adesto, Adeste;* see, for these, Eduard Norden, *Aus altrömischen Priesterbüchern* (Lund, 1939), 178, 207, 227, 274, with the parody of the Arvalian prayer by Arnobius, *Adversus nationes*, III, 43, ed. by Reifferscheid (*CSEL*, IV [Vienna, 1875]), 140, 13ff.; further Pfister, "Epiphanie," *RE.*, Suppl. IV (1924), col. 304f., § 27f., and "Epode," col. 335ff., § 12ff.; also Hans Siegert, "Zur Geschichte des Imperativs *adesto*," *Museum Helveticum*, XI (1954), 195ff. For the Christian style, which followed the pagan style of invocations, cf. P. Hendrix, "La fête de l'Épiphanie," *Congrès d'histoire du Christianisme* (Paris-Amsterdam, 1928), II, 216f.; also a note by Dom Thomas Michels, "*Auctor pietatis in* Roman Liturgy," *Folia*, I (1946), 33, note 2. See, above all, the more recent studies by Elpidius Pax, ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΙΑ (Münchener Theologische Studien, Historische Abteilung, X [Munich, 1955]), 32f., 74, and his article "Epiphanie," *RAC*, V (1961), 841, 853 (*huc ades*).

[196] For the ruler as *benefactor* (εὐεργέτης), see Eiliv Skard, *Zwei religiös-politische Begriffe: Euergetes-Concordia* (Avhandlinger...Norske Videnskaps-Akademi, 1931: 2 [Oslo, 1932]), for the earlier period when the notion of benefactor was locally or nationally conditioned, whereas Hellenistic kings and Roman emperors were styled benefactors *orbis communis* (τῆς κοινῆς οἰκουμένης); see, for this notion, H. Janne, "La lettre de Claude aux Alexandrins et le Christianisme," *Mélanges Franz Cumont* (Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves, IV [Brussels, 1936]), 276ff., and a few remarks by Cumont, *L'Égypte des astrologues* (Brussels, 1937), 27ff.; also Schubart, in *Klio*, XXX (1937), 60ff. Fritz Taeger, *Charisma* (Stuttgart, 1957), I, 257f., considers the title *Euergetes* the lowest grade of cultual honors bestowed upon a ruler.

[197] See *supra*, note 26, for my forthcoming study on "Roman Coins and Christian Rites."

[198] See, for the parallelism of imperial and Christian art, Grabar, *L'empereur*, 253ff., also 80f. See further the Roman Assumption poem of the time of Otto III (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *Poetae lat.*, V, 465ff.). line 39f.: *Vultus adest Domini, cui totus sternitur orbis*, with reference to the appearance of the *Volto santo* in solemn procession. See *infra*, note 204.

[199] See Nock, "The Emperor's Divine *Comes*," 114, note 108, who calls attention to the distinction made between Helios (or Apollo) and the disk of the visible sun. Perhaps Tertullian, *Apolog.*, XVI 10, should be added: *habentes ipsum* (*sc. solem* = *Christum*) *ubique in suo clipeo*. Also Ovid, *Metam.*' XV, 192, seems to take the sun-disk as the shield of Phoebus: *Ipse dei clipeus*. John of Gaza visualizes the βρέφος ἀνατέλλων in the midst of the disk; see his *Ekphrasis*, I, 55f. (ἀλλ' ἐνὶ μέσσωι / ἀνδρομέν μόρφωσε φύσις βρέφος), ed. by P. Friedländer, *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentiarius* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1912), 138, and his illuminating commentary, p. 170. For the distinction between sun-disk and sun-"substance" with regard to Christ, see also the poems of Manuel Holobolos, II, 17, and IV, 2, ed. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca* (Paris, 1829ff.), V, 161, 163.

[200] Apuleius, *Metam.*, XI, 24: Lucius appearing to the worshippers *ad instar solis*. Cf. Nock, *Conversion* (Oxford, 1933), 146; Willi Wittmann, *Das Isisbuch des Apuleius* (Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte, XII [Stuttgart, 1938]), 114ff.

Persian royal title—"who rises together with the sun."[201] In fact, it has been convincingly demonstrated in recent years to what extent Corippus' leading idea—his equation of the elevation on the buckler and the imperial sunrise—had been anticipated by the ceremonial observed at the New-Year's feast of the Achaemenean kings. The king, seated on his throne, was lifted with his throne on the shoulders of his men: "He rose on that day like the sun... Now people were astonished at the rising of two suns."[202] Moreover, Achaemenean seals quite often display in an upper register Ahura Mazda rising in the middle of the world ring, while in the lower register the Great King, likewise within a disk, duplicates the image of the supreme god.[203] Indeed, those were the *gemini soles* of which Corippus was speaking. A miniature in a Greek Psalter shows how long those symbols survived by transference: the prince and his son are seen rising on the buckler while, in a disk, Christ ascends to heaven and thus parallels by his ascension the royal metaphor; nor is there absent, in the right corner of the picture, the group of subjected enemies "bending their necks" (fig. 36).[204]

We recognize the long tradition of the metaphor of the "Two Suns," which referred at times to the king and the natural sun, and at other times to the king and the deity: Ahura Mazda or Mithras or Christ.[205] Corippus, in his panegyric, stressed the duplication of the natural sun through the rise of the emperor. But the Christian features were not lacking in his scenic setting. After the fashion of the customary allegorical spiritualization, Corippus interpreted the "imperial sun" as the *mens iusti*, whereby the "Just" might have been nothing but an allusion to the Emperor's name Justin.[206] This "mind of the Just," however, *plus sole nitet*: its brilliance eclipses that of the natural sun because it knows neither darkness nor clouds, but is a sun without setting, *non mergitur undis*—images traditional with Christian authors.[207]

What matters here is that the elevation on the buckler was interpreted by Corippus as an epiphany, as a sunrise of the imperial sun on, or in, its disk, an idea perhaps intimated by the starred buckler on which King David was raised (fig. 37) and expressed in its most concise form by the roundel in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (fig. 38) and its parallel in Venice.[208] In fact, Corippus once more referred to the Emperor as *Oriens* when describing the

[201] See *supra*, note 71 f.

[202] Albîrûnî, *Athâr ul-bâkiya* or *Vestiges of the Past*, trsl. by C. E. Sachau, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations* (London, 1879), 202, 17 ff., also 200, 35 ff., quoted by L'Orange, *Cosmic Kingship*, 87.

[203] L'Orange, *op. cit.*, 93, figs. 65 b-c.

[204] Vat. gr. 1927, fol. 32 (Ps. XX), ed. by E. De Wald, *The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint*, III: 1 (Princeton, 1941), pl. x.

[205] See *supra*, notes 70 f., 190, 203. For gods or princes in the zodiac, see also L'Orange, *Cosmic Kingship*, 32 ff., with fig. 14 ff., also 95 ff., with fig. 67 f., and *passim*. See also *infra*, notes 275, 286 f.

[206] For allusions of that kind, see E. H. Kantorowicz, "Kaiser Friedrich II, und das Königsbild des Hellenismus," *Varia Variorum: Festgabe für Karl Reinhardt* (Münster–Cologne, 1952), 184, note 85. Perhaps Matt. 5:45 may have contributed, a versicle which has influenced also the poem of John of Gaza, I, 64 f., ed. by Paul Friedländer, 138 and 171.

[207] See *supra*, note 141 ff.

[208] See *The Dumbarton Oaks Collection: Handbook* (Washington, 1955), 19, No. 49, and fig. 49, p. 34; H. Peirce and R. Tyler, "A Marble Emperor-Roundel of the XIIth Century," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 2 (1941), 3–9. See also L'Orange, *op. cit.*, 108, fig. 81.

new Emperor's consular procession. Justin was carried on the shoulders of young noblemen while sitting on his portable throne, the *sella divalis*. Anyone who has ever seen the pope being carried on the *sedia gestatoria* into St. Peter's, towering high above the agitated ocean of the frantically acclaiming crowd, will understand that to Corippus the Emperor on his portable throne appeared "like the holy luminary" or "like the golden sun emitting from the liquid waves of the ocean its resplendent rays."[209]

The sunrise metaphor was applied by Corippus in connection with two conspicuous scenes—the Emperor raised on the buckler and the Emperor raised in the *sella gestatoria*—that is, on two occasions when the Emperor physically rose and appeared aloft in an elevated place above all other men. It is characteristic of Byzantium that it was always some situation related to those described by Corippus which evoked the sunrise metaphor. The evidence may be found in the acclamations which, on the whole, had ceased to be spontaneous expressions of popular feelings but had become ritualized.[210] An occurrence around A.D. 600 allows us perhaps to visualize the development from spontaneity to ritualization even of the sunrise metaphor itself. One day, it so happened that the Emperor Phocas was late in appearing at the Circus because he had been drinking with his friends. The races could not start before the Emperor was present, whereupon the impatient crowd began to shout the cry which henceforth will be found so often in the records of Byzantine history. They shouted: Ἀνάτειλον Φωκᾶ "Rise, appear, Phocas."[211] The action of the masses was certainly spontaneous.But was the cry itself a spontaneous cry? There are sure to exist earlier instances for the usage of the *Anateilon* acclamation which, in one form or another, was probably heard at the reception of Vespasian in the hippodrome of Alexandria;[212] and it seems that this was a conventional cry customary, for example, in the circus.[213] Probably, however, it was only in a later period that those cries were ritualized and received their set place within the imperial ceremonial. In later times, at any rate, these calls or acclamations were so well known in Byzantium and so fixed within the imperial ceremonial that a certain performance was simply called τὸ ἀνάτειλον, just as in the old Austrian monarchy the imperial anthem was styled *Das "Gott erhalte."* In this sense, then, Codinus could write: οἱ ψάλται ᾄδουσι τὸ ἀνατείλατε, "The chanters sing the *Rise*."[214]

What was the performance of the "Rise" like, and on what occasions was

[209] Corippus, *In laudem Iustini*, IV, 227ff., 245ff., 251ff.

[210] For the development of the acclamations, see Alföldi, "Zeremoniell," *RM*, XLIX (1934), 79ff. Treitinger, *Zeremoniell*, 71ff.; and, in general, Th. Klauser, "Akklamationen," *RAC*, I (1950), 216ff., esp. 225f (§ 7).

[211] Cedrenus, *Synopsis*, 404D, ed. by Bekker (Bonn, 1838), I, 709, 5.

[212] See *supra*, note 79.

[213] One of the factions, the Greens, traditionally greeted the red charioteer as Ἀνατέλλων; cf. *De caerimoniis*, I, 69 and 71, ed. by Reiske, 320, 12 and 351, 23, ed. by Vogt, II, 126, 11, and 153, 8.

[214] Codinus, XVII, ed. by Bekker, 97, 4; cf. A. Heisenberg, *Aus der Geschichte der Palaiologenzeit* (Sitz. Ber. Munich, 1920, Abh. 10), 111; see also Jacques Handschin, *Das Zeremonienwerk Kaiser Konstantins und die sangbare Dichtung* (Basel, 1942), 103, who stresses the fact that the *Anateilon* acclamations finally accomodated to the plurality of emperors (*Anateilate*); see, for this point, also *De caerim.*, ed. by Vogt, Comment. II, p. xvi.

it sung? The *Book of Ceremonies* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus gives a full account of the procedure on three occasions: at the nomination of a *caesar* or *nobilissimus*; at a *deximon*, a ceremonious reception; and in the Hippodrome.

The co-optation and nomination of one or more sub-emperors or caesars on the part of the ruling basileus, practiced ever since the reforms of Diocletian, is found in every century of Byzantine history. In the Constantinian age, the caesar had the title of *epiphanestatos kaisar*, later of *eutychestatos*.[215] About the ceremonial observed at the nomination of a caesar we are not lacking information, not even for the earlier period. In fact, the proclamation of Leo II, in 473, is well described. It took place in the Hippodrome where soldiers and people had assembled. The populace called, in Greek, for the old Emperor, Leo I, to appear, while the army fell in with cries in Latin. When the senior Emperor appeared, escorted by the Senate, the assembly demanded that the new Caesar be crowned. Thereupon the Caesar, Leo II, was introduced and invested by the Emperor.[216] The nomination of Justinian I, in 525, followed similar lines but for the fact that the ceremony was staged in the Triclinium of the palace, and not in the Hippodrome.[217]

From the eighth or ninth century onward, the scene of the investiture of a caesar (the technical term was χειροτονία, the imposing of hands) took place on the terrace of the so-called "Tribunal," a very spacious atrium within the palace where, on a portable altar, the regalia and insignia of the new caesar were laid out on that occasion. The Tribunal was reached by passing through an immense reception hall, the "Triclinium of the Nineteen Couches," through which the imperial procession advanced. However, before the majesties (that is, the senior emperor, his empress, perhaps an empress dowager, or a caesar created at an earlier date) arrived on the terrace of the Tribunal, and while, together with the patriarch, they were still traversing the "Nineteen Couches," the acclamations were started outside on the terrace calling for the rulers to appear. Those acclamations were performed, as was indeed very often the case, in responsorial style: the chanters recited and the people responded.

Chanters: "Rise, God-possessed kingship"—'Ανάτειλον, ἡ ἔνθεος Βασιλεία.
People: "Rise, rise, rise"—'Ανάτειλον, ἀνάτειλον, ἀνάτειλον.
Ch: "Rise, NN. autocrats of the Romans"—'Ανάτειλον, NN., αὐτοκράτορες 'Ρωμαίων.
P: "Rise, rise, rise"— 'Ανάτειλον, ἀνάτειλον, ἀνάτειλον.
Ch: "Rise, servants of the Lord"—'Ανάτειλον, οἱ θεράποντες τοῦ Κυρίου.
P: "Rise, rise, rise"—'Ανάτειλον, ἀνάτειλον, ἀνάτειλον.
Ch: "Rise, NN. augustae of the Romans"—'Ανάτειλον, NN. Αὐγοῦσται τῶν 'Ρωμαίων.

215 See, for the epithets, Vogt, *op. cit.*, II, Comment., 45 and 50.

216 *De caerim.*, I, 94, Reiske, 431, 12ff: ἔκραζον... προτρέποντες τὸν βασιλέα ἀνελθεῖν. What the cries were like is not said; but they must have been κλητικά similar to the ἀνάτειλον. For a brief survey of the earlier coronations, see A. E. R. Boak, "Imperial Coronation Ceremonies of the Fifth and Sixth Centuries," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXX (1919), 37ff.

217 *De caerim.*, I, 95, ed. by Reiske, 432.

P: "Rise, rise, rise"—'Ανάτειλον, ἀνάτειλον, ἀνάτειλον.

Ch: "Rise, rulers with the augustae"—'Ανάτειλον, οἱ δεσπόται σὺν ταῖς Αὐγούσταις.

P: "Rise, rise, rise"—'Ανάτειλον, ἀνάτειλον, ἀνάτειλον.

This is the scheme of the *Anateilon* acclamation as it was offered *before* the emperor and his family became visible and made their appearance on the terrace of the Tribunal. On the terrace an altar was prepared behind which the patriarch with his deacon took his place, whereas it was the emperor who blessed the crowd by making three times the sign of the cross. At this moment the chanters of the Blues and the Greens fell in, singing the angelic cries: "Holy, holy, holy." Then the singers changed the tune and explained, as it were, the purpose of the preceding *Anateilon* cries:

> Lords of the inhabited world, take pleasure in your slaves who have called you forth (παρακαλοῦντας). Slaves that we are, we venture to call you forth (παρακαλέσαι). With fear we entreat (δυσωποῦμεν) the lords, and, O benefactors (εὐεργέται), warding off the evil (ἀλεξικάκως) be favorably disposed to the supplications of your people. Lords, make your slaves happy; for the happiness of your city we entreat you. Let there appear (ἐπιφανήτω) to your slaves the caesar. We, thy slaves, O lords, are calling him forth for the utmost glory of the senate, for the utmost success of the army, for the delight of you, O benefactors."[218]

These acclamations are interesting in many respects. The chanters first apologized for having "called forth" the majesties by the cries of *Anateilon*, of having troubled them to make their appearance. That is, they interpreted the *Anateilon* cries as the thing that they really were: κλητικά, or ὕμνοι παρακλητικοί cultual and ritual cries by means of which a god was invited to make his appearance.[219] The apologies for having evoked, or conjured up, the *alexikakoi*, the gods or "benefactors" warding off evil, likewise belong to the same ritual sphere; they are found quite often in the magic papyri.[220] No less interesting is the "fear" lest one has "pestered" the majesties, the frequent assertion of the slave status of the callers or "conjurers," and the final demand to cause the epiphany of the new caesar.[221]

We recognize that a ritual performance has been taking place within which the cries of "Rise, rise, rise" have their very specific and almost magical function, the function of calling the not yet present *numen* of the emperor. And it falls in with the general idea of making a solemn evocation of a deity that

[218] For the whole performance, see *De caerim.*, I, 43, Reiske ed., 222ff., Vogt, II, 29ff. The same acclamations were offered, according to I, 44, Reiske, 228, 21ff., Vogt, II, 36, at the promotion of a *nobilissimus*. The second set of acclamations, without the *Anateilon*, was heard on other occasions as well; see *De caerim.*, I, 62, 69, 71, Reiske ed., 278f., 327, 354, 356, Vogt, II, 88, 132, 155f. For the Tribunal, see Vogt, I, Comment., 51f., and, *ibid.*, 68, for the Nineteen Couches.

[219] See *supra*, note 195, and Elpidius Pax, ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΙΑ, 32f., and *passim*; also "Epiphanie," *RAC*, V (1961), 841 (*Ruf-und Heischelieder*).

[220] See, e.g., Preisendanz, II, 54 (P. XIa, 14); Pfister, "Epode," 335f.

[221] These assertions of fear and awe, frequent in the magical papyri, are also "liturgical." See Edmund Bishop, "Observations on the Liturgy of Narsai," in R. H. Connolly, *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai* (Texts and Studies, VIII: 1; Cambridge, 1909), 92ff.

the ἐπιφανής when finally he appears, blesses the people, and that the blessings, in their turn, are answered by the cry of the angels: Holy, holy, holy.[222]

Very similar was the procedure at a *Deximon*, a solemn reception in the palace for the court society.[223] Again the *Anateilon* was sung before the majesties appeared, while they ascended to the elevated thrones. It was their "Sunrise" to the throne which the *Anateilon* indicated. And again the blessing followed and was responded to by the cries of the Thrice-Holy. In the so-called *Trilexion*, a tripartite chant for the emperor, which followed and was introduced by and interspersed with *Polychronia* (the good wishes for a long reign), there was actually found a quotation of Luke 1: 78, with special reference to the emperor:

> The City of the Romans is rendered strong, since she has received salvation from her own scion, and glorified is the scepter of power. For, "the Sunrise from on high has visited her" through thee, our ruler, who loves righteousness and has been anointed by the Lord with holy oil.[224]

In other words, through the emperor, the native son of Byzantium, the Sun of Righteousness has risen and has brought salvation to the city.

The *Anateilon* acclamations are once more mentioned in the *Book of Ceremonies*, in connection with the emperor's appearance in the Hippodrome.[225] Actually the very appearance of the Basileus in his box at the races was called Ἀνατολὴ τοῦ δεσπότου, the "rise" or *adventus* of the ruler.[226] The *Anateilon* acclaims were offered by the two circus parties, with slight variations on the part of the Blues and the Greens, at the moment when the majesties were ready to ascend the steps of the *Kathisma* and while they ascended them, though before they became visible to the people. Then the emperor, having made his appearance and standing with his family before the thrones, gave the blessings with the folded corner of his chlamys. He turned first to the crowd in the center, then right and left to the Blues and Greens respectively, whereupon the blessing was again responded by the Thrice-Holy and the ensuing acclamations of the emperor "with whom God rules together" and who makes the majesty above visible on earth by "imitating God's philanthropy."[227]

The three performances described by the *Book of Ceremonies* show that invariably the *Anateilon* was sung before the emperor or emperors became visible to the people, that is, while they were in the process of "rising" to the

[222] Treitinger, *Zeremoniell*, 227, note 80, has collected the places for the imperial blessing (κατασφραγίζειν) of the people.

[223] *De caerim.*, I, 63, Reiske ed., 280, Vogt, II, 90ff. For the *deximon*, see Vogt, II, Comment., 97ff., and for the musical parts, Handschin, *Das Zeremonienwerk*, 51.

[224] *De caerim.*, I, 63, Reiske ed., 281, 23ff., Vogt, II, 91.

[225] *De caerim.*, I, 69, Reiske ed., 316f., Vogt, II, 122f.

[226] *De caerim.*, I, 68, Reiske ed., 305, 5, Vogt, II, 113, 13; see also Sophie Antoniades, *La place de la liturgie dans la tradition des lettres grecques* (Leiden, 1939), 196.

[227] For the imperial blessings dispensed with a ply of the purple, see Reiske, II, 64 and 89, and Treitinger, *Zeremoniell*, 227, note 80. Whether or not this ritual should be connected with the *mappa*, the *purpureum pannulum*, in the hand of the emperor, or with the adoration of the purple, would be difficult to tell; see, for the latter, W. T. Avery, "The *adoratio purpurae*," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, XVII (1940), 66–80. For the acclamations, see *De caerim.*, I, 69, Reiske ed., 317, 6ff., Vogt, II, 123.

Tribunal, to the throne, to the *Kathisma*. Just as Corippus, in his panegyric, applied the Sunrise metaphor on the occasion of the elevation on the buckler or on the *sedia gestatoria*, so were the *Anateilon* cries evoked whenever the emperor physically ascended to some higher level. This became true also, if in a slightly more artificial fashion, when the ceremony of the *prokypsis* was introduced, a performance which is not mentioned in the book of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and which does not seem to antedate the Comnenian period.[228]

Prokypsis can mean any raised platform or dais, and in this sense a scholion to an epigram of the *Anthologia Planudiana* uses the word, or rather προκύπτιον, to designate the elevated imperial box in the Circus from which the emperor watched the races.[229] In the course of time, however, it came to mean both a ceremony and a peculiar kind of elevated platform. The *prokypsis* was a wooden *estrade*, erected in the open and appropriately draped with tapestries and golden curtains. The curtains were as yet closed, when the emperor with the caesars and the augustae ascended the platform by a back stair while the front of the stage was still veiled. In front of the *prokypsis*, the court, the clergy, the deputations of the army, and the people assembled waiting for the majesties to appear. Then, after the members of the imperial family had taken their proper places on the *estrade* and had arranged themselves, the curtains were flung open: the emperors, now visible from the knees upward, made their epiphany. The stage was artificially illuminated whenever the ceremony took place after sunset, as indeed it often did. In the dark of the night the *prokypsis* would give the impression of being an island of light in the brilliancy of which the *numen praesens* of the basileus became manifest; it was an imperial epiphany.[230]

The performance of the *prokypsis* was staged regularly on certain feasts of the Church, on Christmas and Epiphany, after the emperor had attended the service at Vespers in one of the palace churches; but it was made also on certain feasts of the court, at coronations and weddings.[231] The rite was a blending of ecclesiastical and pagan-imperial features. One contribution of the Church should be sought in the elaborate use made of the curtains (καταπετάσματα) which, in the divine service, once the iconostasis had been introduced, had liturgical functions.[232] The opening and closing of the *katapetasmata* of the

[228] For the *prokypsis*, see the classical study of Heisenberg, *Palaiologenzeit*, 85ff., and the valuable additions by Treitinger, *Zeremoniell*, 112ff. See further M. A. Andreeva, "De la cérémonie 'prokypsis,'" *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, I (1927), 157–173 (the Russian text has been kindly translated for me by Professor Michael Cherniavsky), who very correctly emphasizes the close connection of the *prokypsis* with the emperor's *anatolē* at a *deximon* and in the Hippodrome (see next note), a connection which was not only "external" (Treitinger, 114).

[229] See *Anthologia Palatina*, ed. by F. Dübner (Paris, 1888), II, 640, the scholion to XVI, 380.

[230] Artificial light effects in connection with an epiphany were well known. See, e.g., L. Deubner, "Römische Religion," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XXIII (1925), 314, who mentions a slab from the thermae of Caracalla in which the spaces between the rays of Mithras' radiate crown were cut out so that a light placed behind that slab would give the impression of the god's appearance in the splendor of the divine light; see, for a similar slab, G. Behrens, "Ein Mythraeum in Bingen," *Germania*, VI (1922), 82. See, above all, Apuleius, *Metam.*, XI, 24ff. Treitinger, *Zeremoniell*, 115, note 338.

[231] Treitinger, *Zeremoniell*, 114, note 335.

[232] See, in general, Carl Schneider, "Studien zum Ursprung liturgischer Einzelheiten östlicher Liturgien, I: καταπέτασμα," *Kyrios*, I (1936), 57–73; Joseph Braun, *Der christliche Altar* (Munich, 1924), II, 159ff.

prokypsis paralleled the exposing and concealing of the altar space in the divine service of the Eastern Church. On the other hand, however, the expedient of the curtains which, in the language of the Church, symbolized the "opening of heaven,"[233] had its tradition in the pagan Roman past which continued to work as a fermenting agent in the rites of the Church.[234] Moreover, it was a remnant of the ancient cult of emperors that, at the *prokypsis*, the basileus was almost constantly acclaimed as Helios, although this feature, too, had assumed a Christian meaning: the imperial *christomimetes* was a reflection of the Sun of Righteousness, so prominently present in the liturgies of Christmas and Epiphany.[235]

Where, then, were the Sunrise acclamations fitted into the punctilio of the *prokypsis*? According to Codinus, the chanters sang the *Anateilate* (here for the first time the plural is used instead of the customary *Anateilon*)[236] when the majesties ascended the platform still veiled by the golden curtains so that the emperors could not be seen by the people. As soon as the curtains opened, those surrounding the *prokypsis* extolled the emperors with felicitating acclamations.[237] Almost the same information may be gleaned from an anonymous report referring to the coronation of Manuel II Palaeologus (1386). The cries of "Rise, rise, rise, emperors of the Romans" (Ἀνατείλατε, ἀνατείλατε, ἀνατείλατε, Βασιλεῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων) were heard while the curtains were closed. "Immediately thereafter they draw the curtains back. The emperors make their appearance, and the acclamations are said. And the closing of the curtains finally deprives the people from further looking at the emperors."[238] Although these reports are late, we nevertheless recognize the familiar cadre

[233] This was already the interpretation of John Chrysostom, *Homilia III ad Ephes.*, c. 5, Migne, PG, LXII, col. 29; and it will be found, with slight variations, in various expositions of the Mass and of church buildings in the East as well as in the West; cf. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, 491, 16ff. ("signifying that the doors of heaven are then opened"); Ps. -Bede, *De tabernaculo*, II, 8, Migne, PL, XCI, cols. 445C (*Velum hoc, coelum interpretatur*) and 446D (*velum quo coelum figuratur*). For the "Prayer of the Veil" (εὐχὴ περιπετάσματος), see Brightman, *op. cit.*, 84f., 158, and Henri Stern, in *Cahiers archéologiques*, III (1948), 97, note 3.

[234] Alföldi, "*Zeremoniell*," 36ff.; cf. Eusebius, *Ad Const.*, I, 1, ed. by Heikel, 196, 30ff.; Corippus, *In laud. Iust.*, III, 207ff., 255f., ed. by Partsch, 142f. See also Grabar, "Une fresque Visigothique et l'iconographie du silence," *Cahiers archéologiques*, I (1945), 124f., for a rapid survey of the development. See also Theodor Klauser, "Der Vorhang vor dem Thron Gottes," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, III (1960), 141f.

[235] The interrelations between pagan-imperial survival and imperial *christomimesis* have been discussed by Treitinger, *Zeremoniell*, 117ff.; cf. L'Orange, *Cosmic Kingship*, 111–113. Professor Francis Dvornik, of Dumbarton Oaks, will have more to say about this subject.

[236] Codinus, c. XVII, ed. by Bekker, 97: χρυσῶν δὲ βηλοθύρων τὴν ἀναβάθραν σκεπόντων ὥστε μὴ ὁρᾶσθαι τοὺς βασιλεῖς, οἱ ψάλται ᾄδουσι τὸ ἀνατείλατε, ἀνατείλατε. αἱρομένων οὖν εὐθὺς τῶν βηλοθύρων εὐφημοῦνται οἱ βασιλεῖς. The suddenness of the epiphany (cf. Matthew 24:27: ὥσπερ ἡ ἀστραπή) is remarkable and seems to belong to the ceremonial; see Apuleius, *Metam.*, XI, 24: *repente velis reductis*; further, the anonymous coronation report, quoted by Heisenberg, *Palaiologenzeit*, 90: καὶ εὐθὺς σύραντες τὰ καταπετάσματα; and *ibid.*, 85 (Acominatus): ἐξαίφνης φανείς. The *vela* were curtains which opened right and left such as are seen in hundreds of representations; cf. Grabar, *Martyrium*, II, 141, note 4, and his article referred to *supra*, note 234, who rightly connects this apparatus with theophanies. There were, however, also liturgical curtains which went up vertically; see, e.g., Leontius of Neapolis, *Vita S. Johannis Eleemos.*, c. 14, Migne, PG, XCIII, col. 1627: *iam diacono... sanctum velum exaltaturo.* This rolling curtain was known in Rome; see W. Beare, "The Roman Stage Curtain," *Hermathena*, LVII (1941), 104–115.

[237] εὐφημοῦνται οἱ βασιλεῖς; see note 236.

[238] Heisenberg, *Palaiologenzeit*, 90.

of the ceremonial which is practically identical with that described in the *Book of Ceremonies* on the occasion of the investiture of a caesar, of the imperial appearance at a *Deximon*, or in the Hippodrome. The traditional ritual has simply been adapted to the *prokypsis*, with the *Anateilon* proffered shortly before the emperors, as yet invisible, made their appearance. The chief difference was that at the *prokypsis* the imperial epiphany did not compare to an *adventus*, but was the result of a conjuring trick: for the very purpose of an epiphany the emperors were first hidden away behind the curtain and then constrained to appear by the invocation of the *Anateilon*.

The connection of the *Anateilon* acclamations at the *prokypsis* with the idea of imperial sun-rulership has not passed unnoticed.[239] It is best illustrated by the works of the poets who composed the official chants for the various epiphanies of the emperor. The epithalamium of Theodore Prodromus celebrating the Emperor Manuel I Comnenus when, in 1147/8, Manuel's niece Theodora was married to Henry, the brother of the Hohenstaufen Conrad III, was probably sung at the wedding *prokypsis*.[240] The Emperor, as usual, was addressed as the sun who with his torch was supposed to give splendor to the capital and who "with his bright rays and his rises" (καὶ ταῖς λαμπραῖς ἀκτῖσί σου καὶ ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς σου) shed radiance on the faces of the young couple. City and people entreated the imperial light-bringer (βασιλικὲ φωσφόρε μου): "*Anateilon*—Rise, gold's luster, rise from your bed-chamber and send forth your rays."[241] That the emperor should rise from his bed-chamber (κοιτών) would hardly have evoked a reminiscence of the young giant of Psalm 18:5, who leaves his solar bride-chamber (παστός). The words differ too markedly.[242] The parallel was nevertheless not totally absent from the minds of the poets, as is shown by a poem by Nicholas Eirenikos for a bridal *prokypsis*. The poem was composed for the engagement of the Nicaean Emperor John Vatatzes to Constance, a daughter of the Western Emperor Frederick II (1244), and it was performed by two half-choirs which apparently substituted for the customary chanters of the Blues and the Greens. In the section which was sung while the Emperor and his bride were still behind the curtain, but ready to appear to the people, the choir sang:

Ἥλιε γίγα βασιλεῦ, ἀκάματε φωσφόρε,
τῆς οἰκουμένης ὀφθαλμὲ καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων λύχνε,
ἀνάτειλον, ἀνάτειλον, τί τοῦ λοιποῦ βραδύνεις.
("Sun-emperor, giant, bringer of light untiring,
Eye of the world, and torch-light of the Romans,
Rise, rise, why delay still longer?")[243]

[239] Treitinger, *Zeremoniell*, 112ff., 117f., 119f.; L'Orange, *Cosmic Kingship*, 111ff.

[240] For the epithalamium, see *supra*, note 191; especially lines 6ff., 11ff., ed. by Neumann, 65, ed. by Heilig, 245.

[241] *Ibid.*, line 13: ἀνάτειλον, ὁ χρυσαυγής, ἀπὸ τοῦ σοῦ κοιτῶνος.

[242] See *supra*, note 177ff.

[243] Cf. Heisenberg, *Palaiologenzeit*, 104; Treitinger, *Zeremoniell*, 116, See, for similar language, Theodorus Prodromus, *Poemata*, X, 31f., ed. by Mai (see *supra*, note 190), 408:

Ανέτειλας, ἀνέτειλας λαμπρὸν ἐκ τῆς ἑώας,
ἥλιε θεῖε βασιλεῦ, καὶ δᾳδουχεῖς τὴν κτίσιν.

Here the *gigas* metaphor comes somewhat closer to the images of Psalm 18:6, all the more so as other *prokypsis* poems put into parallel the miraculous fact that both the huge Sun of Righteousness and the huge imperial Sun find enough space in the small solar disk: Christ encircled by the tiny cave of his birth, and the emperor by the narrowness of the *prokypsis* which, on Christmas, symbolized anyhow the hollow of Bethlehem filled with the light of the rising Sun of Justice.[244]

The few examples here adduced are evidence for the fact that the *Anateilon* acclamations were due always under the same circumstances and that, although the word had simply the meaning of "appear," the solar connotations, both imperial and Christian, were ever present. It may be added that the language of the Church decisively influenced also the language of the court liturgy. Acclamations celebrated the "ascension without evening "(ἀνέσπερον ἀνάληψιν) of the monarchic power, or honored the "inexhaustible well of the inhabited world" (ἀκένωτον φρέαρ τῆς οἰκουμένης).[245] Eustathius, metropolitan of Thessalonica, praised the dynasty of the Comneni as "light-bringing without setting" (φωσφορῆσοι . . . εἰς ἄδυτον).[246] In an Epithalamium, probably in connection with a *prokypsis*, Theodore Prodromus addressed the Emperor John Comnenus: "That thou mayest not set, Sun of Rome; thou mayest not set in all eternity" (μὴ δύνῃς, Ῥώμης ἥλιε, μὴ δύνῃς εἰς αἰῶνας).[247] And the Easter acclamations proclaim: "Today the creation celebrates a double paschal feast of salvation seeing thy scepter, O lord, rising together with the resurrection of Christ."[248] Thus, the feasts of Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, and others were "doubled" in Constantinople, as demonstrated by the Epiphany poem of Prodromus quoted *supra*,[249] because those feasts signified the Rising of the two suns, of the Sun of Justice as well as of the imperial sun which likewise was a light "without evening," a light "without setting," a light "inexaustible" like the Light glorified by the chants of the Church. It is evident that in the Byzantine ἀνατολὴ τοῦ δεσπότου there merged the pagan *Oriens Augusti* and the Christian *Oriens ex alto*.

4. *Lever du Roi*

We may feel today that the Byzantine fashion of staging the *Anatolē* of the Basileus was highly artificial and even theatrical. Yet, when we sneer at the artificiality and theatricality of Byzantine ceremonial, as has been the custom of Western authors from the times of Liutprant of Cremona, that is, from the tenth century onward, we should not forget how modest all that display was as compared to the gross materialism of the extravagant cult of the French *Roi Soleil* in the seventeenth century.

[244] For this parallelism, see the poem of Manuel Holobolos, ed. by J. Fr. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca* (Paris, 1829–1833), V, 161 and 163; L'Orange, *Cosmic Kingship*, 89, note 1.

[245] *De caerim.*, I, 79, ed. by Reiske, 375, 6ff., ed. by Vogt, II, 176. See also *infra*, note 251.

[246] Eustathius, *Laudatio funebris*, c. 71, Migne, PG, CXXXV, col. 1025B.

[247] Theodorus Prodromus, *Poemata*, IV, 14, ed. by Mai, 402.

[248] *De caerim.*, I, 4, ed. by Reiske, 46, 5, ed. by Vogt, I, 40, 8.

[249] See *supra*, note 190.

When in 1653 Louis XIV, then aged fifteen, adopted the Sun for his personal symbol, the ground was thoroughly broken and well prepared for the dazzling display of modern Sun-kingship which has forever remained attached to this monarch's name. It is not an exaggeration to say that in the West, so far as solar imagery during the earlier Middle Ages survived at all in the language of courtly veneration of rulers secular or spiritual, it was not interlocked with, or the counterpart of, the liturgical solar imagery due to Christ as the *Oriens* or *Sol Iustitiae*. Such bipolarization was Byzantine, but it was not Western in the early Middle Ages. Solar imagery applied to kingship became apparent in the later Middle Ages only,[250] and thence survived in various currents and gained momentum until it was applied in a more exclusive fashion to the bearer of the French crown. One current derived from Byzantium and was activated in the West, for example, by Italo-Greek poets who in their poetical panegyrics exalted the Norman and Swabian rulers of Sicily.[251] It met with the broader stream of Latin tradition and of Latin poetry in agreement with which Frederick II was hailed as the *Sol mundi* or praised as "the new Sun that has risen" (*Sol novus est ortus*).[252] A third current should be added, which may be called the "messianic" current in the wake of which Frederick II as well as the French king were not, as in Byzantium, juxtaposed or antithetically compared with Christ, but were adorned with the customary epithet of Christ himself, *Sol iustitiae*.[253] From this messianic current, there must be distinguished the ecclesiological imagery according to which the pope represented the Sun and the emperor the lesser luminary, the Moon.[254] Hence, any emphasis laid upon the solar character of the secular power could assume

[250] This has been noticed also by Heinrich Fichtenau, *Arenga: Spätantike und Mittelalter im Spiegel von Urkundenformeln* (Graz-Cologne, 1957), 35ff., and esp. 110, for the revival of the solar topos in the times of the Hohenstaufen.

[251] See, e.g., the panegyric of Eugenius of Palermo for William II of Sicily (1166–1189), ed. L. Sternbach, "Eugenios von Palermo," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XI (1902), 449, No. XXIV, esp. verses 8–11, praising the king as an ἀνέσπερος φωσφόρος, "lightbearer without evening," who with his rays weakens those of the natural sun to such an extent that the sun is forced to set. See also Raffaele Cantarella, *Poeti Bizantini* (Milan, 1948), I, 206, No. LXXXVIII (Ital. trsl. II, 236), for the verses of Georgius Chartophylax about Frederick II and Rome. See further the arenga of Count Roger I of Apulia, of 1097, composed in Greek, and later (in 1143) translated verbatim into Latin in a charter of Roger II, quoted by Fichtenau, *Arenga*, 36, No. 30.

[252] See E. Kantorowicz, *Kaiser Friedrich II., Ergänzungsband* (1931), 251, and esp. the verses of *Orfinus of Lodi*, ed. by A. Ceruti, in *Miscellanea di Storia Italiana*, VII (1869), 45 (*sol novus est ortus*), and compare the verse of Statius (*supra*, note 82). For *Sol mundi*, see also *Ergänzungsband*, 251 (letter of Manfred). See further R. M. Kloos, "Ein Brief des Petrus von Prece zum Tode Friedrichs II.," *Deutsches Archiv*, XIII (1957), 156ff. (also for *orientalis*), and his "Nikolaus von Bari," *ibid.*, XI (1954), 189. For the Latin tradition (e.g. Cassiodorus), see Fichtenau, *Arenga*, 37, No. 33.

[253] For Frederick II as *sol iustitiae*, see Manfred's letter, quoted *Ergänzungsband*, 251; for the King of France (*Regem Francorum solem iustitiae*), see J. Haller, *Papsttum und Kirchenreform* (Berlin, 1903), I, 470, note 1, quoting the *appellatio* of the University of Paris against Benedict [XIII]; see also *infra*, note 260. Also the other solar metaphor of Christ, *Oriens*, was at least connected with the imperial dignity when Frederick I wrote to Monza and emphasized in the Arenga *quanta multitudine miserationum suarum ille summus oriens ex alto nos visitaverit, qui diadema imperii et coronam glorie capiti nostro imponere dignatus....* See Fichtenau, *Arenga*, 64, No. 105; see also 97, No. 189. For antithetical comparisons, see my remarks in *Varia Variorum: Festgabe für Karl Reinhardt* (Münster-Cologne, 1952), 180ff.

[254] For the sun and moon simile in political theory, there are a few remarks by K. Burdach, *Rienzo und die geistige Wandlung seiner Zeit* (Berlin, 1913–1928), 273ff., 332ff.; also Kantorowicz, "Dante's 'Two Suns,'" 209, 230.

also an antipapal or anti-hierocratic tendency—very obvious in the outbursts of Dante who, in the Divine Comedy, referred to the two universal powers as *due soli* and addressed his messianic emperor, the Luxembourg Henry VII, as *sol noster* and *Titan exoriens*.[255] On the other hand, the Roman pontiff whom the jurists also occasionally identified with the Sun,[256] could easily recognize the solar character of the secular power had that suited his purposes.[257]

These late-mediaeval currents were active everywhere in Europe.[258] They occasionally broke to the surface in late-mediaeval England,[259] and they were certainly not absent from France: "It is he [the king of France] who comes from heaven and sparkles brighter than the sun; it is he who has illumined all of us...; it is he who rightly may be called the king of glory." Such were the greetings extended to the delegates of the University of Paris who were sent to the Council of Pisa in 1409.[260] The quasi-theological or semireligious flavor of utterances such as these cannot easily be mistaken, nor was this substratum abolished in the age of royal absolutism even though the Renaissance movement and the general revival of classical antiquity tended to have secularizing rather than spiritualizing influences.

[255] See Dante, *Purgatorio*, XVI, 106f., recently discussed by Michele Maccarone, "La teoria ierocratica e il Canto XVI del Purgatorio," *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, IV (1950), 375ff., and my study, mentioned *supra*, note 254. See Dante's *Epist.*, VII, 1–2, and V, 1. For the anti-hierocratic tendency, see also Hampe (*infra*, note 258), 43ff.

[256] See, e.g. Baldus, on X, 1, 5, 4, n.14, *In Decretalium volumen Commentaria* (Venice, 1580), fol. 64: *sicut se habet sol in planetis, ita papa in ecclesiis*. This passage was quoted verbatim by Matthaeus de Afflictis, on *Liber augustalis*, I, 7, n. 32, *In utriusque Siciliae...Constitutiones novissima praelectio* (Venice, 1562), I, fol. 52, who adds: *et ideo unus Deus, unus Sol, unus papa*.

[257] See, e.g., Boniface VIII in his recognition of Albert as future emperor (April 30, 1303), who pointed out that, though normally the sun-moon doctrine is observed, *nos autem accipimus hic imperatorem solem...qui est sol sicut monarcha, qui habet omnes illuminare et spiritualem potestatem defendere*. Cf. *Mon. Germ. Hist., Constitutiones*, IV: 1, 139, 20ff., No. 173. The exaltation of Albert, of course, was to serve the pope in his struggle against Philip IV of France.

[258] See, e.g., for Bohemia, Karl Hampe, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der letzten Staufer: Ungedruckte Briefe aus der Sammlung des Magisters Heinrich von Isernia* (Leipzig, 1910), 43ff.; Joseph Emler, *Regesta Bohemiae et Moraviae* (Prague, 1882), II, 1102f., No. 2557. Or, for Spain, the remarks by J. A. Emmens, "Les *Ménines* de Velasquez, Miroir des Princes pour Philippe IV," *Nederlands kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, XII (1961), 77f.

[259] For King Richard II, see the literature collected by me in *The King's Two Bodies*, 32, note 18. For Henry VIII, see Franklin Le Van Baumer, *The Early Tudor Theory of Kingship* (New Haven, 1940), 86, 121. In the case of Queen Elizabeth, her "cult" as *Cynthia* and virginal Moon-goddess did not permit a solar symbolism to develop with equal strength; cf. Frances A. Yates, "Queen Elizabeth as Astraea," *Warburg Journal*, X (1947), 27–82. For James I, see the authorized version of the Bible where the dedication refers to the appearance of the king "as of the Sun in his strength." A silver medallion designed by Nicolas Briot was struck for Charles I, in 1633: a sun radiating (in the Renaissance fashion of *hachures*) over London and the legend SIC REX ILLUMINAT URBEM SOL ORBEM REDIENS. A specimen of this medallion is owned by the American Numismatic Society and a reproduction is found in L. Forrer's *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists* (London, 1904), I, 289, fig.

The *hachures* or hatchings for representing the sun are remarkable in themselves. For, whereas in the Middle Ages the sun was usually represented "mythologically" or figuratively as a figure or bust or head with a radiate crown, the Italian emblemists—perhaps under the influence of Dürer—introduced the hatchings which were still emanating from a face, as in our figure 40 (see note 263). See for some Italian emblemists, Jacopo Gelli, *Divise, Motti, Imprese di famiglie e personaggi italiani* (Milan, 1916), p. 75, No. 182; p. 431, No. 1125; p. 527, No. 1364 etc.; also Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology* (New York, 1939), XC, fig. 170, for Alciati. The iconography of the sun deserves a special study.

[260] Dom J. Leclercq, "L'Idée de la royauté du Christ pendant le Grand Schism," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, XXIV (1949), 260.

From the sixteenth century onward, political art and political literature north of the Alps abounded in solar language. *Quod in celis sol hoc in terra Caesar est.* This motto which Dürer, under the influence of his learned friend Pirckheimer, placed on the canopy of the triumphal car designed for the Emperor Maximilian (fig. 39), was in many respects the keynote of the solar metaphors applied to princes in that century, for example, to the Emperor Charles V.[261] It would be easy enough to extract from political and legal writings of the sixteenth century any number of passages in which the King of France as "the soul of his realm" was compared to the sun as the "soul of the world,"[262] or of statements in which the old theme of the "two suns" which God had given to the world was repeated: the natural sun and the king as the sun of his realm (fig. 40).[263] Much of that was bolstered up by quotations from classical authors unknown, or practically unknown, during the the Middle Ages.[264]

The direct influence of classical antiquity became, of course, overwhelmingly strong in seventeenth-century France. It was, after all, the century of Charles Du Cange, the age in which, under the patronage of Louis XIV and Colbert, the Royal Press sponsored the first systematic edition of Byzantine authors. Hence, this strand of post-classical tradition was reactivated as well, and even though Constantine's *De caeremoniis* was not seen through its *editio princeps* until the middle of the eighteenth century, Codinus' *De officiis* at

[261] Erwin Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer* (3rd ed., Princeton, 1948), I, 181. A medallion of Emperor Charles V, struck in Augsburg in 1541, uses Dürer's motto verbatim on the reverse; *Münzen und Medaillen*, Katalog Auktion XVII (Basel, 1957), p. 19, No 126, cf. pl. XVII. See also the *impresa* of the Prince Elector Johann Georg of Brandenburg (1571–1598), a sun and a heart with cornucopia chained together and the motto: *Quod sol in coelo; quod cor in corpore: Princeps/Hoc et in Imperio Maximus esse solet.* See Jacobus a Bruck, *Emblemata politica* (1618), Emblema VII, p. 25ff.; also art. "Impresa," *Enciclopedia Italiana*, XVIII, 939. See also *supra*, note 259, the legend of the medallion designed for Charles I in 1633; further J. A. Emmens, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 258), 77f., who quotes from J. de Solorzano Pereyra's *Emblemata Regio-Politica in centuriam unam redacta* (Madrid, 1653), 320, Emblema XLII, the motto: *Sic regat Rex Solum ut Sol regit Polum.* I am grateful to Professor Panofsky, who called my attention to this article.

[262] The unison of solar imagery and divine right, so characteristic of Louis XIV, is found earlier in the addresses of the *Procureur général* Jacques de la Guesle; see his *Remonstrances* (Paris, 1611), where the first *Remonstrance*, of 1588, begins with a long discussion of the functions of the sun in order to show (p. 3) "que plusieurs rapports se sont faicts de l'authorité Royalle au Soleil: comme Dieu l'a colloqué là hault au ciel pour la plus excellente representation de sa grandeur: aussi a-il placé icy bas en la terre une autre lumière, image de sa divinité, en la personne des Princes souverains." In another *Remonstrance* of the same year (p. 35f.), the author begins with a paraphrase of Psalm 18:4ff. (the sun coming out of his chamber as a bridegroom and running his course as a giant; see *supra*, note 242) and then immediately applies those images to the king; and in the *Remonstrance* of 1589, p. 91, the sun is defined as *l'âme de l'Univers.*

[263] Pierre Le Moyne, *De l'art de regner* (Paris, 1665), finally brings, p. 46, an *impresa* of Louis XIV showing the two suns in the sky. For the political ideas of Le Moyne, see H. Chérot S. J., *Étude sur la vie et les oeuvres du P. Le Moyne* (Paris, 1887), 321ff.

[264] Jacques de la Guesle avails himself of that new material very extensively, and in another connection I have indicated that, e.g., the Neo-Pythagorean fragments from the *Florilegium* of Stobaeus were of some importance for the political theory of absolutism; cf. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 499, no. 11ff. Moreover, it should be taken into account that the Keplerian revaluation and modification of the Ptolemaic system brought to the fore a heliocentric conception of the universe which could easily be adapted to a king-centered absolutism. See also J. A. Emmens, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 258), 76, fig. 30, for a picture of *Sol* dressed as king, and Emler (*supra*, note 258), II, 1102f., No. 2557, for the explanation: *Cum igitur regem celi solem appellet astroloyce subtilitatis indago.*

least was edited and translated by Gretser and Goar in 1648.[265] Above all, the study of ancient coins and medallions had become a field of great interest, or even a hobby, not only of Italian but also of French scholars, including Du Cange. There was, however, a difference between simply collecting coins for their own sake, and efforts to extract from them their message and apply the latter to new conditions. After the Italian scholars and medallists of the Renaissance had prepared the way, an enthusiastic and learned Provençal, Rascas de Bagarris (b. 1567, in Aix), archaeologist and numismatist, the friend and stimulator of the even greater antiquarian Fabri de Peiresc (b. 1580), wrote, in 1611, a memoir *Sur la necessité de rétablir l'usage des médailles*. In this memoir, Rascas, who a little earlier had written a book on the "Idea of Medals," invited King Henry IV to strike, after the Roman model, coins and medallions illustrating the history of the King's exploits and of his reign at large.[266] An efficient political propaganda by means of coins and medallions, which recorded serially and as a running commentary all important events, exploits, ordinances, or victories of a prince's life, was unknown in Greece and was developed mainly in imperial Rome. Despite the very high standard of Italian medallists ever since the fifteenth century, Italy did not develop a so-called *histoire métallique* excepting a few attempts on the part of the Medici and of individual popes.[267] For the first time since the days of imperial Rome, however, Rascas de Bagarris came forth with a clear-cut program for recording in chronological succession all the important events in his King's life, his private and public actions, in medallions.[268] It is true, Henry IV did not acquiesce to this suggestion. There were nevertheless handsome medallions struck for him, which displayed Henry IV, after the model of the *Hercules Romanus Commodus*, as a *Hercules Gallicus*—ALCIDES HIC NOVUS ORBI according to one inscription (figs. 41 a-b).[269] These, however, were isolated issues of medals and not part of a greater historical program.

265 See Karl Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur* (2nd ed., Munich, 1897), 426.

266 For Rascas de Bagarris, see André Michel, *Histoire de l'art* (Paris, 1923), VII:1, p. 402f.; also Michaud's *Biographie universelle* (new ed., Paris, n.d.), XXXV, 203ff. For Peiresc, see Georges Cahen-Salvador, *Un grand humaniste: Peiresc* (Paris, 1951), 239f., for his collection of coins (17,000 pieces), and 17, for his relations with Rascas de Bagarris.

267 See Regling, "Medaille," in *Wörterbuch der Münzkunde*, ed. by F. Frhr. v. Schrötter (Berlin-Leipzig, 1930), 380b, for Medici and papal medallions.

268 For these series of coins, see F. Friedensburg, *Die Münze in der Kulturgeschichte* (Berlin, 1909), 198f.

269 Natalis Rondot, *Les médailleurs et les graveurs de monnaies, jetons et médailles en France* (Paris, 1904), pl. xx, fig. 4 and pl. xxi, fig. 3. Classical antecedents of these pieces may be found in certain coins of Commodus, the *Hercules Romanus:* see, e.g., Max Bernhart, *Handbuch der Münzkunde der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Halle, 1926), pl. xi, fig. 5; Mattingly, *CREBM*, IV (London, 1940), pl. cxi, figs. 2, 6. For Henry IV of France as *Hercules Gallicus*, see Rudolf Wittkower, "The Vicissitudes of a Dynastic Monument: Bernini's Equestrian Statue of Louis XIV," *De artibus opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. by Millard Meiss (New York, 1961), I, 506, no. 31ff., and II, pl. 170, fig. 9, who discusses also Louis XIV as Hercules. *Hercules Gallicus*, it is true, is normally considered in a more restricted sense in agreement with the short tractate of Lucian, *Heracles*, 1ff., who mentions the Gallican Hercules as a model of eloquence; see Andreas Alciati, *Emblemata* (Lyon, 1600), No. CLXXX, p. 617 (*Eloquentia fortitudine praestantior*), and the notes on *Hercules vir Gallus*, 493f. For the classical and cultual background, see Rudolf Egger, "Aus der Unterwelt der Festland-Kelten," *Wiener Jahreshefte*, XXXV (1943), 115ff., a study to which Professor Herbert Nesselhauf kindly called my attention. See further Robert E. Hallowell, "Ronsard and the Gallic Hercules Myth," *Studies in the Renaissance*, IX (1962), 242ff.

France, in the seventeenth century, was fortunate enough to have produced at least two great medallists, Guillaume Dupré (1572–1642) and Jean Varin (1604–1672). From Dupré's atelier proceeded a medallion, struck in 1611 and designed for the accession of the infant Louis XIII, which is of particular interest here (fig. 42a).[270] On the obverse, the medallion shows the jugate busts of young Louis XIII and his mother, Maria de' Medici, the official Regent for the duration of the king's minority. The reverse is quite classical in its conception, and the inscription of the medallion is evidence of the designer's intimate knowledge of Roman coins. It shows, in the left section, a naked young *Sol*, as young as he is when rising in the early morning. His head is surrounded by flashing sun-rays. In his left hand he carries the globe surmounted by the cross.[271] Opposite him, and facing him, is Maria de' Medici in the armor of Minerva, seated and holding in her lowered left hand the thunderbolts, whereas her raised right hand holds the olive branch over the globe, pacified already by the cross. Her gesture symbolizes that the dangerous weapons now are banned and that the olive branch rules over the globe of the earth held in the hand of the youthful *Sol* who looks up ecstatically to the branch. The legend gives the explanation: ORIENS AUGUSTI TUTRICE MINERVA. Here then, for the first time since Roman antiquity, do we find again the inscription *Oriens Augusti*, meaning in this case "The rise of the august under the tutelage of Minerva." No doubt, however, can arise about the source of the inscription: it was derived from Roman *Oriens Augusti* coins.

Whereas Henry IV was deaf to the advice of Rascas de Bagarris, Louis XIV, fifty years later, fell for the idea of an *Histoire métallique* of his reign. In 1662, after the death of Mazarin, the King took over the government and ruled by himself. When, at this time, the engraver Jean Varin suggested the emission of a set of historical medallions demonstrating in gold, silver, and bronze the King's history and historical achievements, Louis XIV agreed to this proposal. Colbert supported the plan, and in 1663 he actually founded the *Académie des Inscriptions* composed of a small number of savants. The name of the *Académie* intimates that it was to occupy itself chiefly with composing inscriptions and general designs of the medallions immortalizing *alla maniera classica* the glory of Louis XIV.[272] The academicians made the designs and finally published, in 1702, a collection of *Médailles sur les principaux événements du règne de Louis le Grand*, covering the years from the King's birth (1638) to 1700, although, of course, the medallions from 1663 backward had

[270] Rondot, *Les médailleurs...en France*, pl. XXIV, fig. 3. An oval medallion by Dupré (fig. 42b) has the same design and inscription, see F. Mazerolle, *Les médailleurs français du XVe siècle au milieu du XVIIe* (Paris, 1904), III, pl. XXXI, fig. 663, cf. II 132f., No. 663. For other medallic representations of Louis XIII in the guise of Apollo, see Jean Babelon and Josèphe Jacquiot, *Histoire de Paris d'après les médailles* (Paris, 1951), 81 and pl. XI, fig. 59.

[271] See Percy Ernst Schramm, *Sphaira, Globus, Reichsapfel* (Stuttgart, 1958), 122ff., who emphasizes that in fact the French kings did not use the globe, even though occasionally they may be shown carrying it in allegorical representations as, e.g., in the medallions here discussed.

[272] Rondot, *Les médailleurs*, 106ff. For the foundation of the *Académie des Inscriptions*, see Léon Aucoc, *L'Institut de France* (Paris, 1889), pp. IV and LIff.; Alfred Maury, *L'ancienne Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres* (Paris, 1864).

to be invented *ex post facto*. Naturally the founding of the *Académie des Incriptions* was itself considered a major exploit of Louis XIV and therefore duly commemorated by a medal: Mercury writing with a metal *stilus* on a brazen plate while overturning a vessel filled with coins, and the inscription explaining: RERUM GESTARUM FIDES (fig. 43).[273]

The first medallion in the publication of the *Académie des Inscriptions* referred naturally to the birth of the Dauphin. The design shows a personified France on her knees, extending her hands in order to receive the child carried by an angel as a present of heaven—COELI MUNUS says the inscription accordingly (fig. 44).[274] The second medallion depicts the ORTUS SOLIS GALLICI, a legend which the Academicians translated *Le Lever du Soleil de la France* (fig. 45, a-b).[275] The design displays the infant Dauphin and future King seated in the chariot of the Sun-god, with Victory guiding the horses and holding out a crown of laurel to the babe. Like the Sun-god in classical representations, or like Roman emperors in some coin images or, for that matter, like Christ as the Lord of the Year, the new baby-sun of France was placed in the center of the zodiac. The child's rival, that is, the natural sun, is seen as it passes from the sign of *Leo* to that of *Virgo* to indicate the astrological birth hour of Louis, which is inscribed in the exergue of the central image: *Septembris quinto [hora undecima], minutis triginta octo ante meridiem, MDCXXXVIII.*

At the age of four, in 1643, the Dauphin Louis succeeded to the throne. The medallion designed to commemorate this event shows the infant King —FRANCORUM SPES MAGNA says the legend—seated on the buckler which is elevated by *Francia* and *Providentia*. On the ground, between the two figures, is the globe of the earth and a cornucopia (fig. 46 a).[276] In early Byzantium, we recall, the elevation on the buckler was interpreted as a "sunrise" of the basileus, his first epiphany after his accession. In seventeenth-century France, of course, this ceremony no longer was practiced. It was nothing but an antiquarian recollection of (as the scholars of the Academy thought) the early Frankish past, and for that very reason also Napoleon was shown standing on the buckler (fig. 46 b),[277] although by his time the numerous representations of that scene found in Byzantine manuscripts would have been

[273] *Médailles sur les principaux événements* (see next note), 73.

[274] *Médailles sur les principaux événements du règne de Louis le Grand avec des explications historiques*, par l'Académie Royale des Médailles et des Inscriptions (Paris, 1702), fol. 1. The inscription *Coeli Munus* seems to allude to the name *Theodosius* or *Dieudonné* which apparently had been suggested for the Dauphin by Cardinal Richelieu in order to put into relief the fact that the heir to the throne had been born after a marriage of twenty-six years; Julia Pardoe, *Louis the Fourteenth* (New York, 1847), I, 100f. Gustave Toudouze and Maurice Leloir, *Le Roy Soleil* (Paris, 1908), 1.

[275] *Médailles sur les principaux événements*, fol. 2 (here fig. 45a), and Menestrier, *Histoire de Louis le Grand* (Paris, 1691), pl. 4 (here fig. 45b). The exergue inscriptions are at variance with each other. For the Roman emperor in the zodiac, see Strack, *Untersuchungen*, II, 100f, esp. 107; for a Helios-Christ in the zodiac, see *supra*, fig. 29.

[276] *Médailles sur les principaux événements*, fol. 4. See, for the elevation on the buckler, *supra*, note 192.

[277] For Napoleon on the buckler, a medallion designed by Romain-Vincent Jeuffroy (1774-1826), see Rondot, *Médailleurs*, pl. XXXIX, fig. 6, and p. 367; L. Bramsen, *Médaillier de Napoléon le Grand* (Copenhagen, 1904), 326, 327; see also Edward Edwards, *The Napoleon Medals* (London, 1837), pl. III, figs. 1-4, 7. Napoleon is elevated by a senator and a soldier.

known. The solar implications, however, were not registered in 1643, and the inscription in the exergue says simply INEUNTE REGNO. MDCXLIII.

Louis XIII died on May 14th of that year. Four days later, on May 18th, the little King held his first *Lit de Justice* in the Parliament of Paris. The Grand Chambellan and one of the captains of the guard carried him to the dais and seated him on the throne to the right of his mother, Anne of Austria, whom he then ordered to be proclaimed Regent and head of the Regency Council of the kingdom. This *Lit de Justice* was commemorated adequately by a medallion bearing the inscription ANNAE AUSTRIACAE REGIS ET REGNI CURA DATA.[278] This design was made, we recall, after 1663 only, that is, twenty years or more after the event. There was, however, also a contemporary design of 1644, and in this earlier design the possibility of interpreting the king's first *Lit de Justice* in solar terms did not escape the royal artist commissioned to contrive a New Year's jetton commemorating the most important event of the past year. His sketch shows a Phoenix perched on a mountain nest and illumined by bright bundles of rays emanating from the sun (fig. 47).[279] The inscription, borrowed from Virgil's Fourth Eclogue, reads *Caelo demittitur alto,* "He is sent from high Heaven," a motto which the Academicians had alluded to in the COELI MUNUS medallion commemorating the birth of Louis as a gift from heaven to *La France*.[280] The designer of the *Lit de Justice* jetton, however, offered his own interpretation:

> The Phoenix is born and soars from the ashes of his father by the influence sent to him from heaven and the sun. In the same way, the king has been given to us miraculously from on high: and from the *lit funèbre* of his father he rises to his *lit de justice*.[281]

The results of that first *Lit de Justice* of the infant King, chiefly the establishment of the Regency Council headed by his mother, were recorded by a design in which the members of the *Académie des Inscriptions* stressed the solar aspects of the new order. We recognize the young King in the guise of *Sol*. He is seated in the chariot of the Sun-god, which rides over the clouds and is drawn by four steeds over whose heads the morning star shines. That this *Stella matutina* symbolized the King's mother may be gathered from the obverse of the medallion: it shows the jugate busts of the boy king and his mother, with the inscription LUDOVICUS XIV. R[EX] CHRISTI[ANISSIMUS]. ANNA AUSTRIACA AUGUST[A] with the date, 1643, in the exergue. The reverse displays the inscription HAEC SOLEM PRAEVIA DUCIT, "She [Anne, the morning star] leads the Sun by shining before him" (fig. 48).[282] It is, despite the date, an *ex post facto* design, related to Dupré's *Oriens Augusti* medallion for Louis XIII and Maria de' Medici as Minerva (fig. 42) and suggesting the *Oriens* metaphor only by means of the symbol of the *Stella matutina*.

[278] *Médailles sur les principaux événements*, fol. 5.

[279] Ralph E. Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (Geneva, 1960), 191f. and fig. 18.

[280] *Supra*, note 274.

[281] Giesey, 192, note 55.

[282] Claude-François Menestrier, *Histoire du Roy Louis le Grand* (Paris, 1691), pl. IV, figs. 3 a and b.

In 1651, when beginning his fourteenth year, the King was declared of age, and the medallion designed on that occasion shows the Queen Mother Anne of Austria passing the rudder, decorated with lilies, to her son.[283] But the real rudder of government was still firmly held by Cardinal Mazarin, and only on the latter's death, in 1661, did the King, now aged twenty-three, take over the government and begin to rule by himself. The medallion designed by the *Académie* shows Louis XIV in the guise of Apollo seated on a globe *fleurdelysé*, in his left hand the lyre and in his right, the rudder (fig. 49).[284] Bright flashes of sun rays surround his head while the legend says simply ORDO ET FELICITAS and the exergue inscription explains REGE CURAS IMP[ERII] CAPESSENTE, with the date 1661. In the same year, the King's attentive presence in council was remembered by a special design. He is the omnipresent Sun-god whose chariot wheels over the clouds, drawn by four galloping horses (fig. 50).[285] Deep under the chariot we recognize a segment of the globe of the earth, and high above is a segment of the zodiac showing *Leo*, *Virgo*, and *Libra*—again an allusion to the constellation at the King's birth. The inscription reads GALLIA FELIX, and in the exergue we find ASSIDUA REG[IS] CONSILIIS PRAESENTIA. 1661.

Solar symbols are rarer than one would expect in connection with military events, but they are not absent. After the resistance of the Fronde had been broken, in 1653, by the conquest of various cities, the medallion commemorating this event shows the rising Sun-god dissipating the clouds, and the motto SERENITAS, with the exergue inscription PLURIMAE URBES RECEPTAE MDCLIII (fig. 51).[286] The zodiac is the natural circle within which the sun moves. We recall the designs ORTUS SOLIS GALLICI (fig. 45) and GALLIA FELIX (fig. 50). But the young Sun-god racing his horses had other sporting grounds at his disposal. After the campaigns against Holland in 1672, the designer of the medallion immortalizing this event replaced the twelve signs of the zodiac by twelve conquered Dutch and Rhenish cities and fortresses: Arnhem, Zutphen, Nimwegen, and others, an achievement which reminded him of the twelve labors of Hercules, and therefore the legend reads SOLISQUE LABORES. The design shows the solar chariot, guided apparently by France herself, who here takes the place of the King, driving along this zodiac of city names (fig. 52).[287]

There is one further design which refers to the *Oriens*. It shows the bust of Louis XIV emerging from a cloud from which thunderbolts are shooting down to earth. On earth there is seen a pride of lions in addition to vultures and a four-headed monster. The inscription above the king's head says ORTUS

[283] *Médailles sur les principaux événements*, fol. 32.

[284] *Op. cit.*, fol 59 (here fig. 49 a); also Menestrier, *Histoire*, pl. x, fig. 1 b (here fig. 49 b).

[285] *Médailles sur les principaux événements*, fol. 61.

[286] *Op. cit.*, fol. 34.

[287] Menestrier, *Histoire*, pl. xxi, fig. 3 b. The fact that the Twelve Labors of Hercules were interpreted as the twelve houses of the Zodiac has its tradition and history; cf. William S. Heckscher, "Bernini's Elephant and Obelisk," *Art Bulletin*, XXIX (1947), 180, note 139; Wittkower, "The Vicissitudes" *supra*, note 269), 506, note 34. For Hercules representing the Sun, see A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie grecque* (Paris, 1899), 137, 1; 577, 1.

EST SOL, and that above the beasts says ET CONGREGATI SUNT (fig. 53).[288] The words are taken from Psalm 103:20ff., where the Psalmist addresses the Lord: "Thou makest darkness, and it is night: wherein all the beasts of the forest do creep forth, the young lions roaring after their prey...." Then, however, "*The Sun ariseth, they gather themselves together*, and lay them down in their dens." The meaning is anything but obscure: the sun when it rises conquers and dissipates all the monsters of the dark. The medallion thus expressed, through the medium of the Psalm, almost the same idea which, in the images of Roman imperial *Oriens Augusti* coins, *Sol* conveyed when trampling on captives or demons of the dark, and which Shakespeare conveyed when allowing King Richard II to compare his arrival on the Coast of Wales with the rising of the sun:

Discomfortable cousin! Know'st thou not
That when the searching eye of heaven is hid,
Behind the globe, that lights the lower world,
Then thieves and robbers range abroad unseen,
In murders and in outrage, boldly here,
But when from under this terrestrial ball
He fires the proud tops of the eastern pines,
And darts his light through every guilty hole,
Then murders, treasons, and detested sins,
The cloak of night being plucked from off their backs,
Stand bare and naked, trembling at themselves?[289]

This, approximately, was supposed to be the effect when the royal sun, Louis XIV, rose.

Sunrise was not only depicted in designs of medallions and in books of royal devices and *imprese*[290] but was also staged artificially. At the time of the king's marriage to Maria Theresa of Austria, in 1660, a triumphal arch was built, "brilliantly lighted, from which in honor of Louis a rising sun, composed of innumerable jets of flame, slowly detached itself and mounted into the horizon."[291] Two years thereafter, the King, who had earlier adopted the Sun as his personal symbol, adopted his official solar *impresa*. The design, composed by an antiquarian named Douvrier and executed as a medallion in 1663, showed the sun in its zenith bearing a human face surrounded by Apolline locks, upright over the forehead, and emitting his rays onto the globe of the

[288] Menestrier, *Histoire*, pl. XXXIII, fig. 1 a. The circular legend, taken from Psalm 45:9–10, indicates that the king has terminated all wars: *Videte opera Domini, quae posuit prodigia super terram, auferens bella.*

[289] *King Richard II*, 3, 2, 36–46.

[290] Works on royal *imprese* were published in great numbers, and many of them ran through very many editions. See, e.g., Claude-François Menestrier, *L'Art des emblèmes* (Lyon, 1662); *Philosophie des images* (Paris, 1682); *La science et l'art des devises* (Paris, 1686); *La devise du Roi justifiée ... avec un Recueil de cinq cents devises faites pour Sa Majesté et toute la maison royale* (Paris, 1679). See, for a catalogue of his works, J. Renard, *Catalogue des oeuvres imprimées de C.-F. Menestrier* (Lyon, 1883); also P. Allut, *Recherches sur la vie et les oeuvres du Père C.-F. Menestrier* (Lyon, 1856). The other great authority was Pierre Le Moyne (1602–1671); see, above all, his *Livre de l'art de regner* (Paris, 1665), and *De l'art des devises* (Paris, 1666), which contains a full collection, still absent from the earlier edition of 1649, of devices for the king.

[291] Sir Charles Petrie, *Louis XIV* (London, 1938), 201.

earth (fig. 54).[292] The inscription contains only the three words which were received as the king's device: NEC PLURIBUS IMPAR. The meaning of these words is, according to the fashion of the *imprese*, somewhat dark, and the King himself admitted: "Je sais qu'on a trouvé quelque obscurité dans ces paroles, et je ne doute pas que ce même corps n'en pût fournir de plus heureuse." Louis XIV interpreted it in the sense that he himself would be sufficient to govern several empires just as the sun would be sufficient to give light to other worlds.[293] This is also the interpretation offered officially by the *Académie des Inscriptions*,[294] and one might translate "Not unequal to several suns [or: kings]," or "Equalling the power of several." Both the device and the whole emblem were henceforth displayed over and over again. An extremely handsome medallion from the hands of Varin has the date of 1674 (fig. 55),[295] but it is generally held that the new *impresa* received its official character at the time of the *Grand Carrousel* of 1662.[296] At any event, from that time, when the King was twenty-four years old, the myth of the *Roi Soleil* was firmly established, and it was to fascinate and dominate the minds of the world for more than half a century. It is true that the King had already applied solar symbolism to his person in his youth. In 1653, at a performance in the theatre of the Petit-Bourbon, the king took part in the *Ballet de la Nuit* by Isaac Benserade. He appeared as the rising sun, with a golden wig on his head and in a costume flashing from head to foot with sun rays (fig. 56), and the lines recited to interpret his appearance almost predicted the future:

Déjâ seul je conduis mes chevaux lumineux
Qui traînent la splendeur et l'éclat après eux...
Je suis l'astre des Rois.
. . . .
Sans doute j'appartiens au monde à qui je sers,
Je ne suis point à moi, je suis à l'Univers,
Je lui dois les rayons qui couronnent ma Tête....[297]

292 Émile Bourgeois, *Le Grand Siècle: Louis XIV, les arts, les idées* (Paris, 1896), 48. For the device itself, see *Médailles sur les principaux événements*, fol. 74; see *infra*, note 295. In defense of the device (which allegedly was copied after a device of Philip II of Spain) Menestrier wrote a whole book: *La Devise du Roy justifiée* (Paris, 1679); see Paul Allut, *Recherches sur la vie et sur les oeuvres du P. Claude-François Menestrier* (Lyon, 1856), 155f.

293 *Mémoires de Louis XIV pour l'instruction du Dauphin*, ed. by Charles Dreyss (Paris, 1860), II, 570 (Appendix II [1662]).

294 *Médailles sur les principaux événements*, fol. 74: "...les mots...signifient, qu'ainsi que les rayons de cet Astre éclairent à la fois la Terre et plusieurs Globes célestes, de mesme le génie du Roy suffiroit à gouverner ensemble et la France et plusieurs Royaumes."

295 Mazerolle, *Jean Varin*, pl. v, fig. 43, for the year 1664; see pl. IX, fig. 228, which has the date 1674, two years after the death of Varin. Cf. Frédéric Pény, *Jean Varin de Liège* (1947), pl. XX, fig. 61, and p. 52. See also Rondot, *Les médailleurs*, pl. XXXVIII, fig. 2 (with a different motto).

296 In his *Mémoires pour l'instruction du Dauphin*, ed. by Charles Dreyss, II, 569f., the King himself mentions his new device in connection with his discussion of the *Carrousel*. Cf. Toudouze and Leloir, *Le Roy Soleil*, 28.

297 *Les Oeuvres de Monsieur de Bensserade* (Paris, 1697), II, 69: "Le Roy representant le Soleil levant." The King, of course, represented the sun also on other occasions, for example, in the *Ballet Royal d'Hercule Amoureux*, of 1662; *op. cit.* II, 277f., where the King as the sun makes his *entrée* with the Twelve Hours of the day. For a drawing of the King in his solar costume, see Bourgeois, *Le Grand Siècle*, 16.

The King danced also in Benserade's *Ballet Royal d'Hercule Amoureux*, of 1662, staged this time in the Tuileries, and again he wore a similar costume when impersonating the sun.[298]

The full impact of the King's solar philosophy, however, became noticeable in the 1660's only. In those years, after the birth of the Dauphin in 1661,[299] Louis XIV himself dictated, in his so-called *Memoirs* or rather his *Instructions for the Dauphin*, his own rationalization for upholding the solar symbolism as a vehicle for royalty. The sun, writes he, has been chosen for the body of the royal *impresa*. For according to the rules of emblematic art, the sun which

> est le plus noble de tous, et qui par la qualité d'unique,
> par l'éclat qui l'environne,
> par la lumière qu'il communique aux autres astres qui lui composent comme une espèce de cour,
> par le partage égal et juste qu'il fait de cette même lumière á tous les divers climats du monde,
> par le bien qu'il fait en tous lieux, produisant sans cesse de tous côtés la vie, la joie et l'action,
> par son mouvement sans relâche, où il paraît néanmoins toujours tranquille,
> par cette course constante et invariable, dont il ne s'écarte et ne se détourne jamais,
> est assurément la plus vive et la plus belle image d'un grand monarque.[300]

It was in the 1660's, too, that Louis XIV decided to build his palace in Versailles, even though the building itself was not finished until considerably later.[301] If in his Instructions for the Dauphin of 1662 he remarked that he refrained from changing his *impresa* "celle-là étant déjà employée dans mes bâtiments et en une infinité d'autres choses,"[302] such a change would have been even less possible after the construction of Versailles. For the gilded device of the Sun King sparkled in every room of the palace, from every ceiling, from the "empty throne" (an Etoimasia of classical times transferred to a *Lit de Justice*, emblazoned with the rising sun and the motto HINC SUPREMA LEX [fig. 59]),[303] from tapestries, or from the cresting of a Boulle clock where the royal-imperial crown appears above the head of *Sol* in a sunburst, thereby making Louis XIV, as it were, the "Master of Time" (fig.

[298] Charles I. Silin, *Benserade and His Ballets de Cour* (Baltimore, 1940), 306, where also the golden wig made by Madame Touzé is mentioned.

[299] For the medallion designed on the birth of the Dauphin, see *Médailles sur les principaux événements*, fol. 65.

[300] See *Mémoires pour l'instruction du Dauphin*, ed. by Dreyss, II, 570. See also Fritz Hartung, "L'état c'est moi," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLXIX (1949), 5, note 2.

[301] See, e.g., James Eugene Farmer, *Versailles and the Court under Louis XIV* (New York, 1905), 3 ff.

[302] *Mémoires pour l'instruction du Dauphin*, II, 570. See also Bourgeois, *Le grand siècle*, 50: "Cette devise eut un succès prodigieux. Les armoires du roi, les meubles de la couronne, les tapisseries, les sculptures en furent ornés."

[303] Menestrier, *Histoire de Louis le Grand* (Paris, 1691), pl. 28.

58 a-b), the χρονοκράτωρ, as one of the emblemists styled him.[304] In the gardens of Versailles there was the "Basin of Apollo"—a sculpture of the Sun-God driving his four stamping horses as they rise from the leaping waters of the fountain.[305]

For all this playfulness, it should not be forgotten to what degree, and in what a torturingly labored fashion, the King ventured to live up to his self-imposed Apollonian image in his daily life. Apparently it has as yet not been clarified to what extent the classical *coiffure* of Apollo-Helios, the flame-like locks surrounding the head and standing up over the forehead, the ἀναστολή τῆς κόμης, was responsible for the introduction of the peculiar wig which Louis XIV sported.[306] But the sun deity was certainly the ideal towards which Louis XIV unceasingly strove. "He was always young, he was always victorious, he was always crowned with the laurel [which Victory held out to him ever since his infancy], he was always superb. Each day he rose and set with the same splendor, and in transit gave light and life to all the world."[307]

The self-imposed myth regulated life and ceremonial at his court. In the center of the palace of Versailles, which itself was credited with being the center of the world, was the King's bedchamber. The chamber faced the East and its windows were directed towards the rising sun, but also down the Avenue de Paris towards the capital of France.[308] In the abundant light of the morning sun the Sun King himself rose in a highly ceremonious manner. That is to say, the perpetual identification of the King with his symbol led to the identifying of the King's daily *Lever* in the morning with the rise of the natural sun, and accordingly his *Coucher* in the evening with the setting of the sun. The elaborations of the King's *Lever* with the various *entrées* of courtiers and callers have often been described.[309] It began with the services of officers and valets of the Wardrobe and Chamber before, first, the *entrée familière* took place, the entry of the princes of the blood and the members of the royal family who appeared as soon as the king was awake. There followed, second, the *grande entrée* of great officers and certain privileged persons who were granted the favor of being present while the king, now seated in an armchair, was being dressed, There came, third, an *entrée* of others who on

[304] See, e.g., Edith A. Standen, "The Roi Soleil and Some of his Children," *Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bulletin*, IX (1951), 134, for an embroidered hanging; James Parker, "A Royal French Clock," *ibid.*, XVIII (1960), 193ff., esp. figs. on pp. 195 and 201. For Louis XIV as χρονοκράτωρ ("Maistre du temps"), see Brice Bauderon, Seigneur de Senecey, *L'Apollon François ou... Louis le Grand, XIV de ce nom* (Mâcon, 1681), 331ff.

[305] J. E. Farmer, *Versailles*, pls. facing pp. 92 and 216.

[306] The *perruque d'or* made by Mme. Touzé and worn by the King when appearing as the rising sun in Benserade's *Ballets* is mentioned occasionally; see Silin, *Benserade and his Ballets de Cour*, 306, also 300. See, for the *coiffure* of the Sun-god, H. P. L'Orange, *Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture* (Oslo, 1947).

[307] Farmer, *Versailles*, 216.

[308] Farmer, *Versailles*, 36f.

[309] See Farmer, *Versailles*, 154ff., who supplements the report of Saint-Simon by that of *L'État de la France* (Paris, 1702), I, 254–278. See also Ezechiel Spanheim, *Rélation de la cour de France en 1690*, in the annotated edition of Émile Bourgeois (*Annales de l'Université de Lyon*, Droit et Lettres, N.S. II, fasc. 5 [Paris and Lyon, 1900]), 277ff.

account of their offices had the right of entrance or were otherwise privileged. After several other *entrées*, personal callers and petitioners entered the chamber in which by that time 150 to 200 persons were standing around while the Sun King rose and dressed. The worshippers of Mithras could not have greeted the rise of *Sol invictus* with greater devotion than the courtiers greeted the daily rise of their monarch, and the semireligious character of the punctilio surrounding the King has often been noticed: the *Levers* and *Couchers* "semblent des salutations d'adorateurs d'un astre."[310]

It may well be that this ceremonious rising from bed had antecedents in the French coronation ceremonial which, in its turn, was influenced by the chivalrous ceremonial of elevation to knighthood: after the night-vigil and the traditional bath the one to be dubbed rested on a parade couch to receive visits of honor.[311] However that may be, the elaborations of the *Lever* were apparently introduced by Louis XIV and adapted to the royal symbol of the sun. The appearance of the various *entrées* according to rank has a parallel in the various *vela* (actually "curtains") of courtiers, officers, and invited guests admitted to the great receptions at the court of the Byzantine emperors.[312] But it should be stressed that nothing similar to the royal *Lever* was practiced in imperial Byzantium. The total absence of any washing worth the mentioning made the *Lever* possible at the French court, and ideologically there was probably no need for washing: SURGENS CORUSCAT, "He sparkles the moment he rises," said, reassuringly, a device symbolizing the *Lever* of the new King, Louis XV (fig. 60).[313] And similar devices referred to Louis XIV, for example, INGENS VISUS AB AURORA, "An immense sight from the moment of Dawn," or VINCIT AB ORTU, "He conquers from the moment he rises."[314] The royal heliolatry was practically boundless. It is like looking into the mirrors of the *Galerie des Glaces*, lit by four thousand wax candles and reflecting them, when we look at the giddying superabundance of little sun symbols and devices spinning around, or emanating from, the central face which is inscribed DIGNA DEO FACIES, a motto rendered by the contemporary designer: "Il est comme le Dieu de ce monde visible" (fig. 57).[315] It is a plate of royal devices, valid only for the first quarter of the King's reign. The mul-

[310] E. Lavisse, *Histoire de France*, VII: 2 (Paris, 1906), 403.

[311] There is reason to hope that this complicated problem will be discussed by Professor Ralph E. Giesey. For the ceremonious resting of the king on a bed of state and his rising from it before his coronation, called also *Lever du Roy*, see the etching in Antoine Danchet, *Le Sacre du Roy [Louis XV]* (Paris, 1722), tableau I (no paging). For the bath before the dubbing of a knight and his ceremonious rest, see Konrad Burdach, *Rienzo und die geistige Wandlung seiner Zeit*, in his *Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation* (Berlin, 1913–1928), II; 1, 85ff.; and for the integration of this feature of chivalry into the coronation ritual, see Percy Ernst Schramm, *A History of the English Coronation*, trsl. by Leopold G. Wickham Legg (Oxford, 1937), 76, 93f.

[312] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De caerimoniis*, I, 1, ed. by Reiske (Bonn, 1829), 24f, and ed. by Albert Vogt (Paris, 1935), I, p. 18f; in his Commentary, p. 71, Vogt explains that he translated *vela* "habituellement par 'entrée', comme on disait au XVII siècle."

[313] A. Danchet, *Le Sacre du Roy*, an illustrated "Explication des figures allégoriques qui répondent au tableau du Lever du Roy" (tableau I).

[314] Both devices are found in the collection of Pierre le Moyne, *De l'art des devises* (Paris, 1666), 455 and 458.

[315] Menestrier, *Histoire du Roy Louis le Grand* (Paris, 1691), pl. XLIV.

titude of suns is bewildering, and it defeats the purpose of the King's device NEC PLURIBUS IMPAR written in large letters in the outer circle.

We cannot but admire the relatively modest sincerity and simplicity of Roman and Byzantine emperors who, in a rather discreet and unobtrusive fashion, were identified or identified themselves with the rise of the sun. They still wished to establish by this expedient their own or their office's unison with a god, pagan or Christian. They were, at any rate, strangely remote from the unbridled self-admiration and self-mirroring of the model monarch of modern times who, though religiously a devout, sought and received the reflections of his own image in that baffling secular cult of his court. While the admiration for the Sun King and his court was almost universal, his political adversaries banded together in the League of Augsburg, of 1686, and their accumulated bitterness prompted them to make use of propaganda in the form of medallions lampooning the Sun king. When Louis XIV entered into secret negotiations with the Ottoman Sultan, with the Bey of Algiers, and the English refugee King James II, his enemies made fun of the unholy alliance of four by issuing a medallion which was a witty persiflage of the royal emblem. For where the sun should stand, a Devil was shown IN FOEDERE QUINTUS, "The Fifth of the Alliance," hovering in the air over withering lilies.[316] In 1689, the league of France's adversaries issued a medallion NON SEMPER LILIA FLORENT, "Not ever do the Lilies bloom" (fig. 61).[317] The obverse shows Phaeton's fall and the inscription: INCENDIT QUACUMQUE INCEDIT: COMPESCET IGNIBUS IGNES, "Fire he puts whither he puts his foot: And will quench the fires by fires."

In 1661, we recall, when Louis XIV took over the government, a handsome design for a medallion showed the youthful King Helios with rudder and lyre, seated comfortably on a globe which then seemed to belong to the *fleurs-de-lis* alone (fig. 49). Thirty years later, when the decline began, the king's adversaries issued a medallion: the globe *fleurdelisé* had turned into an exploding bomb, and the inscription SE IPSISSIMO indicated the self-explosion of the abnormally distended Gallic empire (fig. 62).[318] In the seventeenth century this was a good and novel joke. We, however, have experienced almost too often the fact that bombs explode *se ipsissimo*, and usually because some great monarch's or leader's sunrise has been too hot.

Whereas in the atmosphere of the courtly, gallant emptiness of Versailles the symbol of the sun and its rise was devaluated through inflated application, the courtly playfulness was turned once more into utter seriousness in the age of Napoleon.

The idea of a metallic history and propaganda by means of coins was carried through by the French Revolution and by Napoleon even more persistently than by the *Académie* under Louis XIV. It is no exaggeration to maintain that from the Napoleonic designs of medallions and coins the history of the French

[316] Menestrier, *op. cit.*, pl. XL, fig. 6.
[317] Menestrier, *op. cit.*, pl. XLIII.
[318] Menestrier, *op. cit.*, pl. XLII.

Emperor could be reconstructed as efficiently as we have learned to reconstruct Roman imperial history by the agency of imperial and provincial coins.[319] A medallion displaying Napoleon's elevation on the buckler has been mentioned before (fig. 46b). There is, however, another design which is peculiarly relevant to this present study and which reflects at the same time the great familiarity of the classicist *Empire* style with the Roman models.

The medallic design refers to Napoleon's landing at Fréjus, on October 9, 1799 (fig. 63a–b).[320] This was the moment when Napoleon returned from his Egyptian campaign, exactly one month before he overthrew the Directory and usurped full political and military power by establishing himself as the First Consul. The reverse side of the planned medallion shows a downcast France, seated on a low rock just above the ground, with a tiny French chanticleer back of her, and stretching out her arms to Napoleon who has just landed from Egypt. His sea voyage is indicated by a prow back of him, decorated with a little sphinx indicating the country he came from. Both Napoleon in his *paludamentum* and France bearing a mural crown are clad *a l'antica*. The inscriptions are even more remindful of antique models. The one in the exergue, communicating the date, interprets the arrival of Napoleon in classical terms: FELIX ADVENTUS NEAPOLIONIS, whereas the legend proper reads: EXPECTATE VENI, "Come, O expected one." It is the almost messianically flavored legend of *Adventus* coins of a single Roman emperor, Carausius, who had his headquarters in Britain.[321] This messianic note of the legend is characteristic not only of the third century, but also of the situation of 1799, of the time of Napoleon's landing at Fréjus when France was ready to receive him as the savior of the endangered country. The obverse of the medallion's design is no less characteristic. It shows Napoleon's bust, draped with the *paludamentum*, his head surrounded by a burst of sun rays, while the inscription below says laconically ORIENS.

Therewith our argument comes full circle. The Hadrianic *aureus* (fig. 1) showed the Sun-god with the exergual one-word inscription ORIENS. The head of the god has been replaced, in agreement with a very long and circumstantial development, by the head of the supreme political and military man in power. But the lapidary inscription ORIENS again leaves it unexplained whether it is to be understood geographically or theologically, that is, whether it refers to Napoleon's oriental expedition or to Napoleon himself as the new rising sun that breaks over France in her agonies.

[319] See *supra*, note 277, and next note.

[320] Ernest Babelon, *Les médailles historiques du règne de Napoléon le Grand, Empereur et Roi, publiées sous les auspices de la Société de Numismatique de New York* (Paris, 1912), p. 13. I am indebted to Professor Ralph E. Giesey for first calling my attention to this design, and to Professor Howard L. Adelson for a photograph.

[321] While it is true that in Virgil's *Aeneid*, II, 282f., Anchises addresses the ghost of Hector, asking him *quibus, Hector, ab oris /expectate venis?*, the imperative form *Expectate veni* in connection with an *Adventus* scene can go back only to the Carausius coins where *Britannia* greets the emperor with the words with which *Francia* addresses herself to Napoleon. See, for the Carausius *Adventus* coins, H. A. Grueber, in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd Ser., XX (1900), pl. III, fig. 8; Percy H. Webb, "The Reign and Coinage of Carausius," *ibid.*, 4th Ser., VII (1907), 70, and pl. I, fig. 9; J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School* (Cambridge, 1934), 64f., and pl. XII, fig, 6.







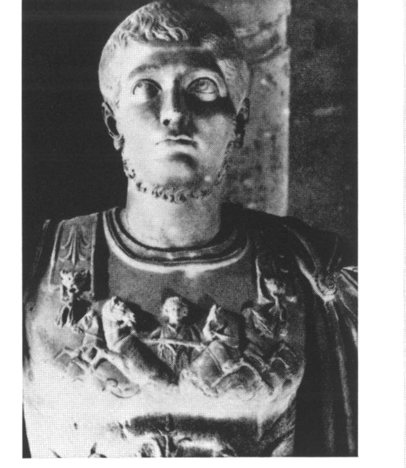
1. a–b. Hadrian, *Aureus*: rev., *Sol* ORIENS (see note 1). 2. Trajan, *Aureus*: rev., *Sol* (see note 13). 3. Republican *Denarius* (L. Valerius Acisculus): obv., *Sol*, rev., *Luna* (see note 12). 4. Probus, *Aureus*: SOLI INVICTO COMITI AUG. (see note 18). 5. Seleucid Drachma: obv., Antiochus VI Dionysus (see note 12). 6. British Museum. Bronze *Tessera* or Coin: obv., ANATOLH, rev., ΔYCIC (see note 93)



7. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, no. 220: Black-figured *Krater* (see note 4). 8. British Museum. Hellenistic Silver-gilt Plaque or *Phalera* (see note 5). 9. Aurelian, Bronze Coin: obv., SOL DOM. IMP. ROM. (see note 10). 10. Caracalla. Bronze Plaque or *Phalera* (see note 59). 11. Republican *Denarius* (A. Manlius Q. F.): obv., Roma, rev., *Sol* rising (see note 10)



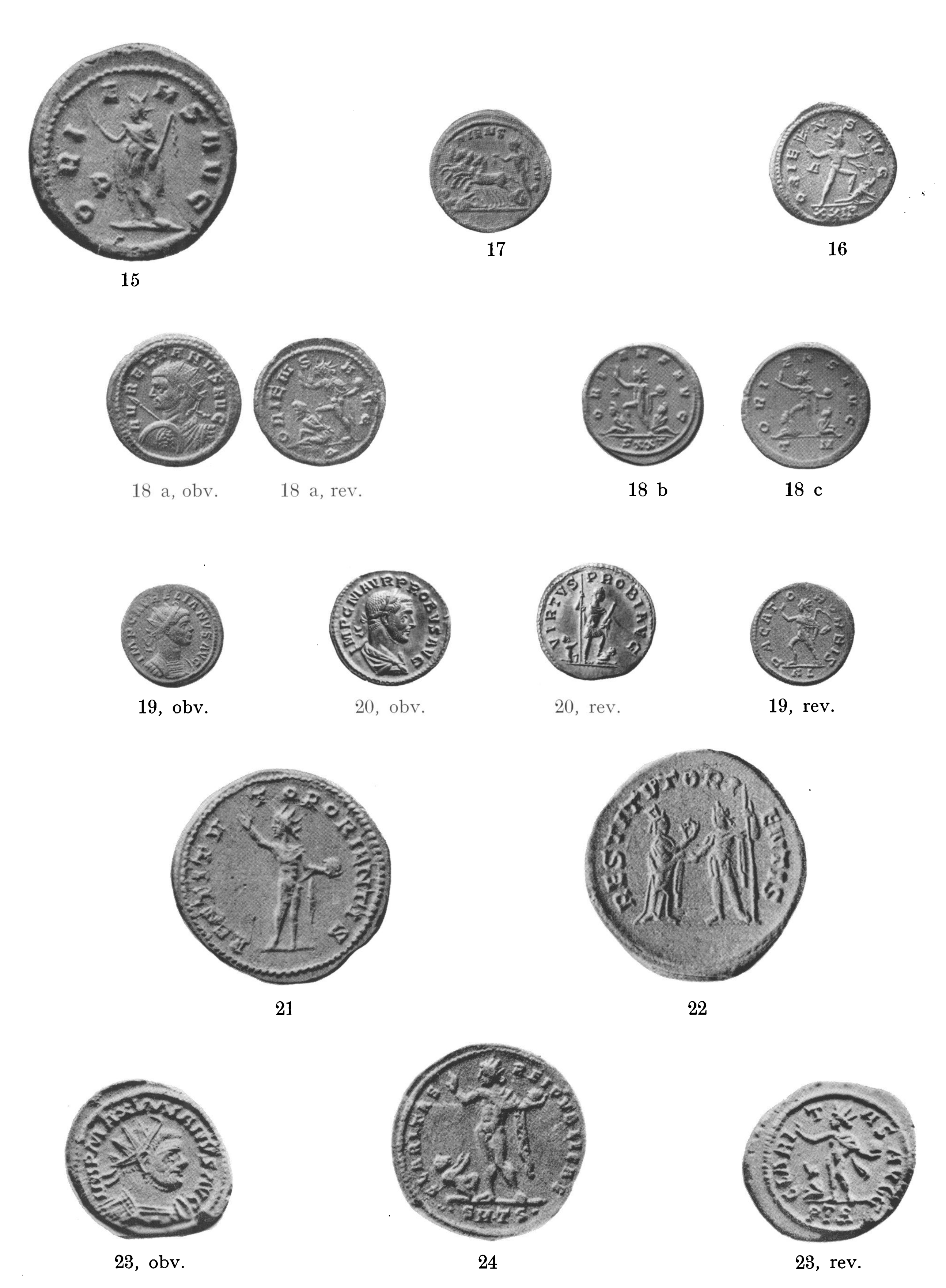
13. Lateran. Cuirassed Statue from Theatre in Cerveteri (see note 8)



12. Turin, Museo di Antichità. Cuirassed Statue from Susa (see note 6)



14. Salona. Cuirassed Statue (see note 8)



15. Gallienus, Antoninianus: rev., ORIENS AUG[USTI], *Sol* standing with Whip (see note 22). 16. Aurelian, Antoninianus: rev., ORIENS AUG[USTI], *Sol* with Laurel and Bow (see note 23). 17. Aurelian, *Denarius*: rev., ORIENS AUG., *Sol* rising on Chariot (see note 24). 18. a–c Aurelian, Antoniniani: rev., ORIENS AUG., *Sol* with Captives (see note 25). 19. Aurelian Antoninianus: rev., PACATOR ORBIS, *Sol* (see note 27). 20. Probus, *Aureus*: rev., VIRTUS PROBI AUG. (see note 29). 21. Aurelian, *Aureus*: rev., RESTITUTOR ORIENTIS, *Sol* holding Globe (see note 41). 22. Gallienus, Antoninianus: rev., RESTITUT[OR] ORIENTIS, Emperor with the Province Oriens (see note 44). 23. Maximianus, Antoninianus: rev., CLARITAS AUG., *Sol* with Captive (see note 63). 24. Constantine: rev., CLARITAS REIPUBLICAE (see note 63)



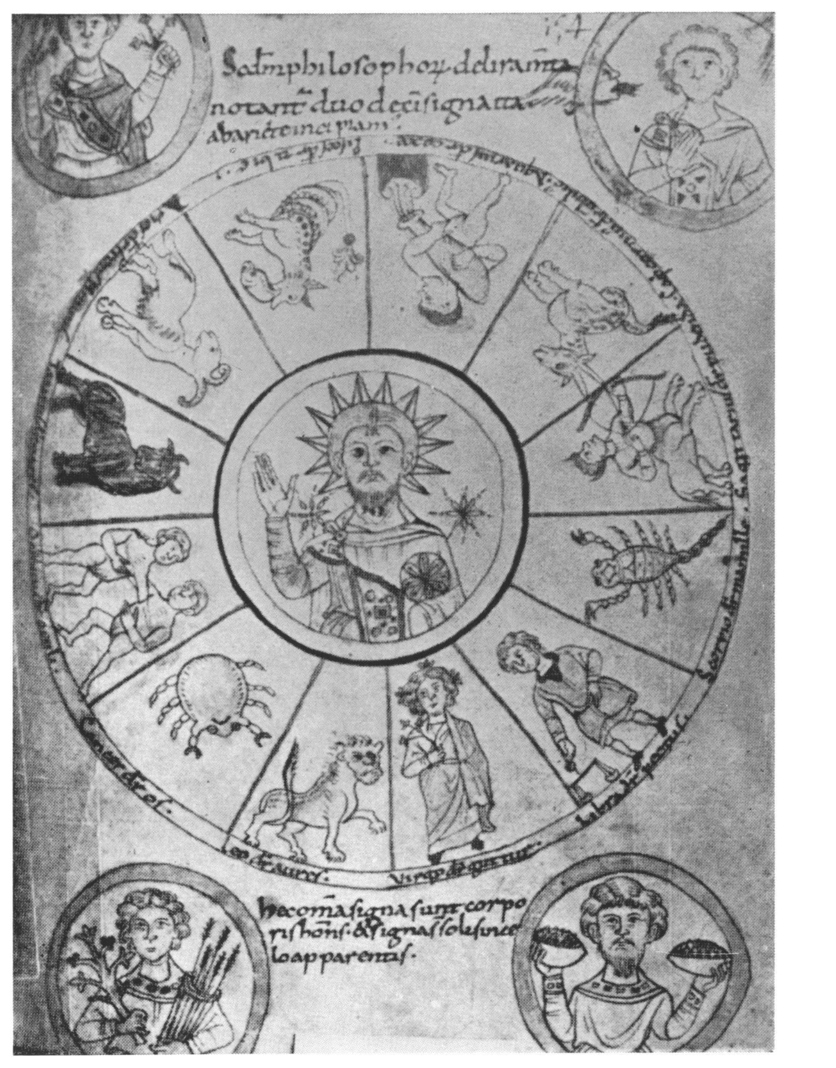
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25. Septimius Severus, *Aureus*: rev. Emperor rising on Chariot of *Sol* (see note 52). 26. Vatican. *Phalera*: SOL INVICTUS AUGUSTUS (see note 56). 27. Vienna. Relief from Ephesus: Marcus Aurelius rising on Chariot of *Sol* (see note 60). 28. Dura Europos. Wall Painting: Zeus Theos (see note 62)



29. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 7028, fol. 154: Helios-Christ in Zodiac (see note 92)



30. Rome, Excavations under St. Peter's. Mosaic in the Mausoleum of the Julii (see note 150)



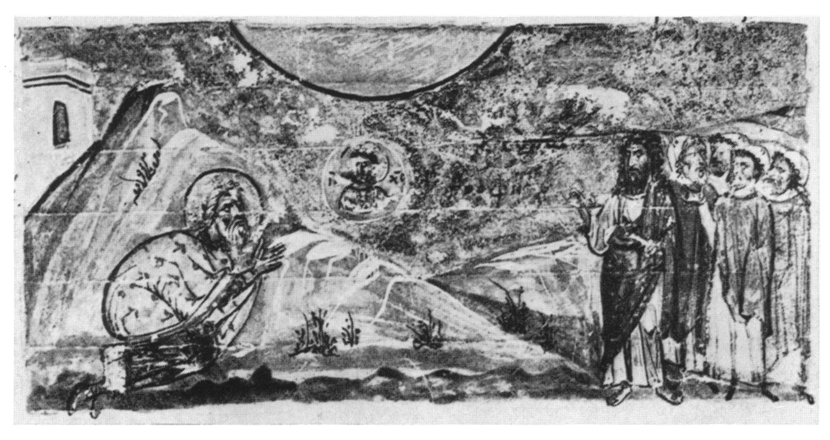
31 a





31 b

32



33

31 a. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS gr. 74, fol. 107: Canticle of Zacharias (see note 155). 31 b. London, British Museum, Add. MS 39627, fol. 141 (see note 155). 32. Chludoff Psalter, fol. 154v: Canticle of Habakkuk (see note 156). 33. Vatican, MS gr. 1927, fol. 285v: Canticle of Zacharias (see note 157)



34 a



34 b



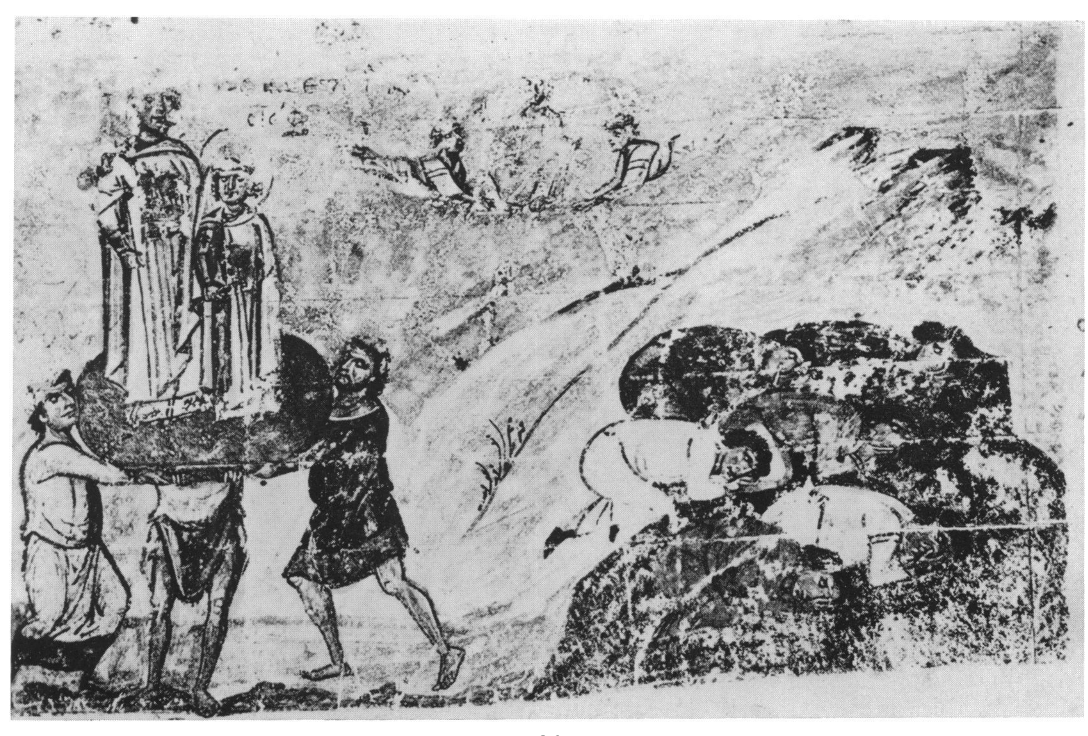
34 c



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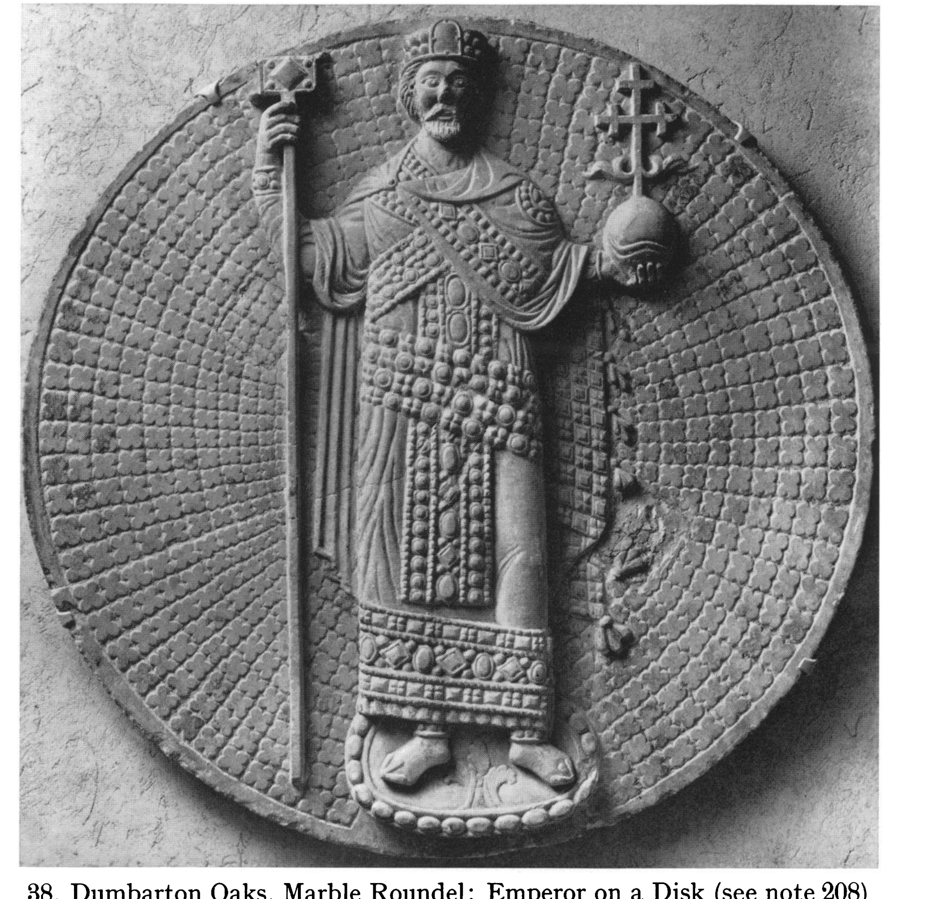


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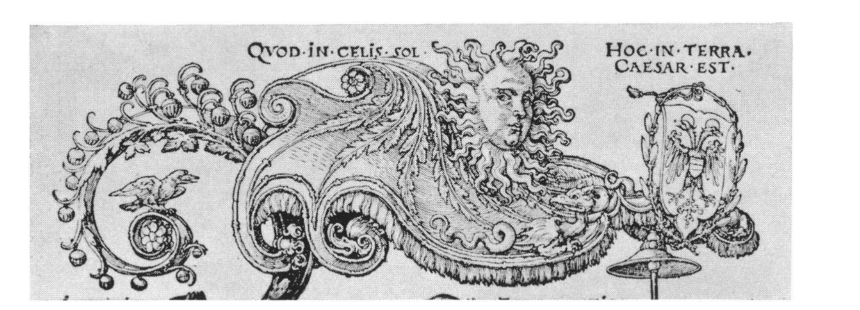


36

34 a–c. Istanbul, Ottoman Museum. Byzantine Seals of *Blachernitissa* Type (see note 164 f.). 35. *Rothschild Canticles*, fol. 63v (see note 174). 36. Vatican, MS gr. 1927, fol. 32: Elevation on the Buckler (see note 204). 37. Vatican, MS gr. 752, fol. 82: Elevation on the Buckler (see note 208)



38. Dumbarton Oaks. Marble Roundel: Emperor on a Disk (see note 208)



39. Dürer, Triumphal Car for the Emperor Maximilian, detail of Canopy (see note 261)



40. *Impresa* for Louis XIV: Two Suns (see note 263)



41 a, obv. 41 a, rev. 41 b

42 a, obv. 42 a, rev.

43 42 b 44

41 a–b. Medallions: Henry IV as Hercules Gallicus (see note 269). 42 a–b. Guillaume Dupré, Medallions for Louis XIII: rev., ORIENS AUGUSTI TUTRICE MINERVA (see note 270). 43. Acad. des Inscr., Design for Medallion: Founding of the Académie des Inscriptions (see note 273). 44. Acad. de Inscr., Design for Medallion: Birth of Louis XIV (see note 274)



45 a



45 b



46 a



46 b



47



48



49 a



49 b

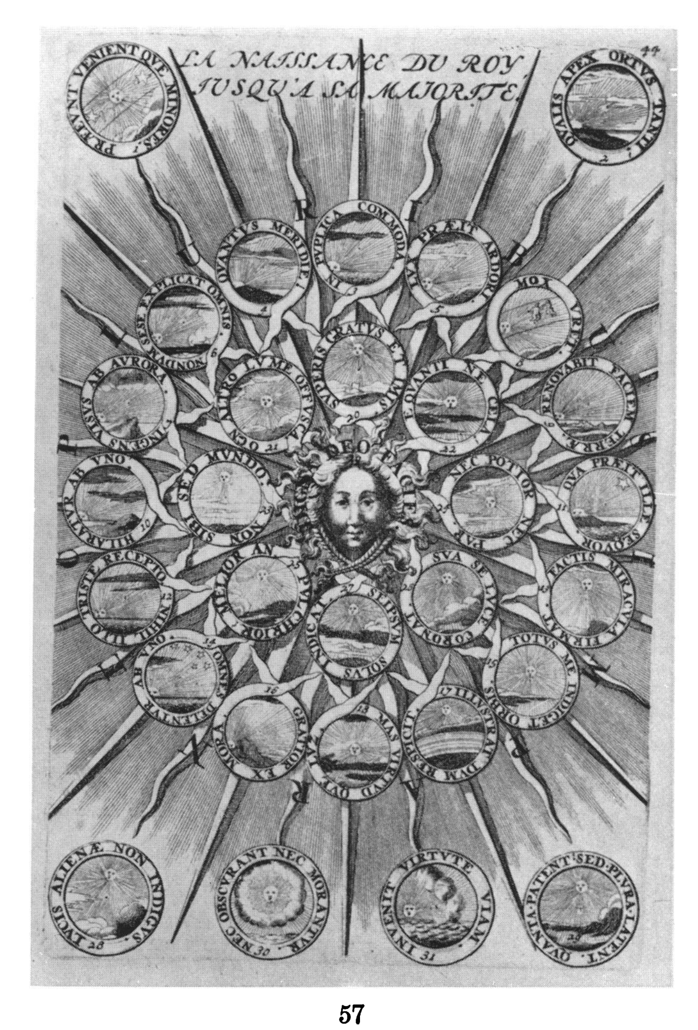
45 a. Acad. des Inscr., Design for Medallion: ORTUS SOLIS GALLICI (see note 275). 45 b. Menestrier's Version of 45a (see note 275). 46 a. Acad. des Inscr., Design for Medallion: Elevation on the Buckler of Louis XIV (see note 276). 46 b. Romain-Vincent Jeuffroy, Medallion: Elevation on the Buckler of Napoleon, 1804 (see note 277). 47. Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 4395, fol. 1v: Design for New-Year's Jetton, 1644 (see note 279). 48. Menestrier, Design for Medallion, 1643: rev., Louis XIV on Chariot of Sun with Queen Mother as *Stella Matutina* (see note 282). 49 a–b. Acad. des Inscr., Design for Medallion, 1661: Louis XIV-Apollo on Globe *fleurdelysé* (see note 284)



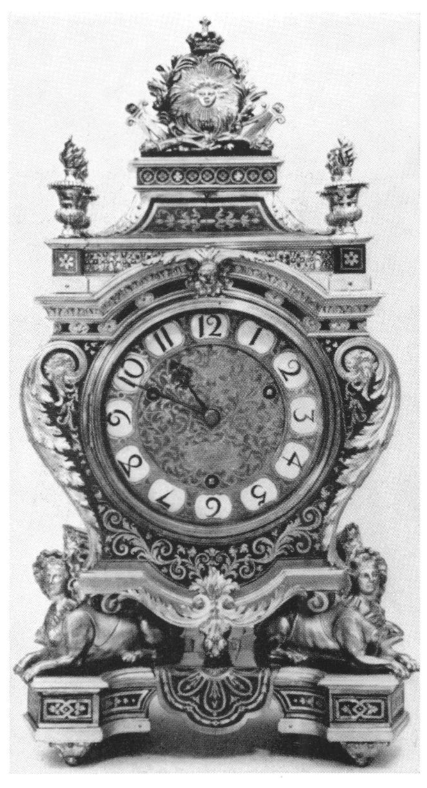
50. Acad. des Inscr., Design for Medallion, 1661: GALLIA FELIX (see note 285). 51. Acad. des Inscr., Design for Medallion, 1653: SERENITAS (see note 286). 52. Menestrier, Design for Medallion: SOLISQUE LABORES (see note 287). 53. Menestrier, Design for Medallion: ORTUS EST SOL (see note 288). 54. Acad. des Inscr., Medallion: The King's Device—NEC PLURIBUS IMPAR (see note 292). 55. Jean Varin, Medallion, 1674: obv., LUD[OVICUS] MAGNUS, rev., King's Device (see note 295)



56



57



58 a

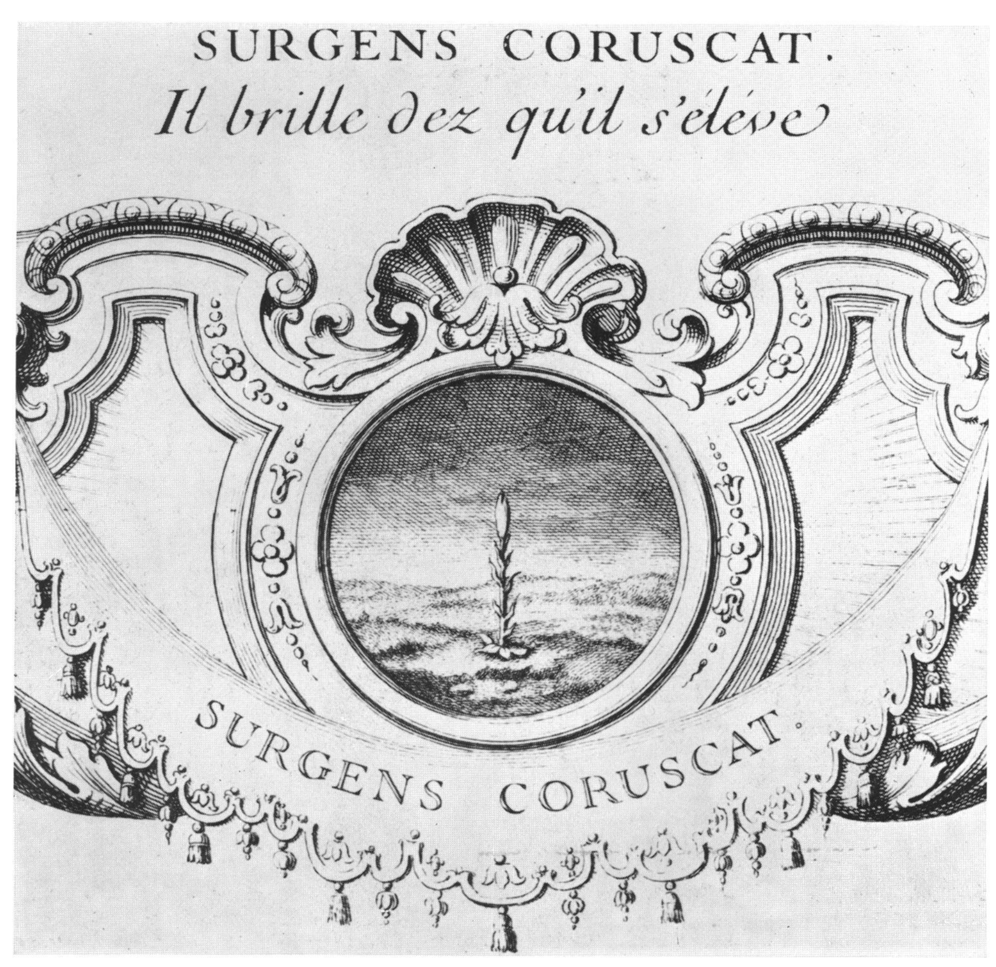


58 b

56. Benserade's *Ballet de la Nuit*: Louis XIV in the Costume of Sunrise (see note 297). 57. Menestrier, Plate of the King's Solar Devices (see note 315). 58 a–b. Metropolitan Museum. Boulle Clock of Louis XIV, and detail of top (see note 304)



60 a. Detail of top of Tableau

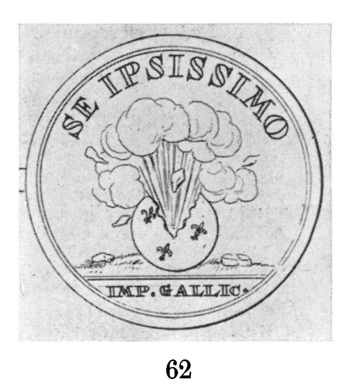


60 b. Detail of bottom of Tableau

Danchet, *Lever du Roy*, Tableau (see note 313)



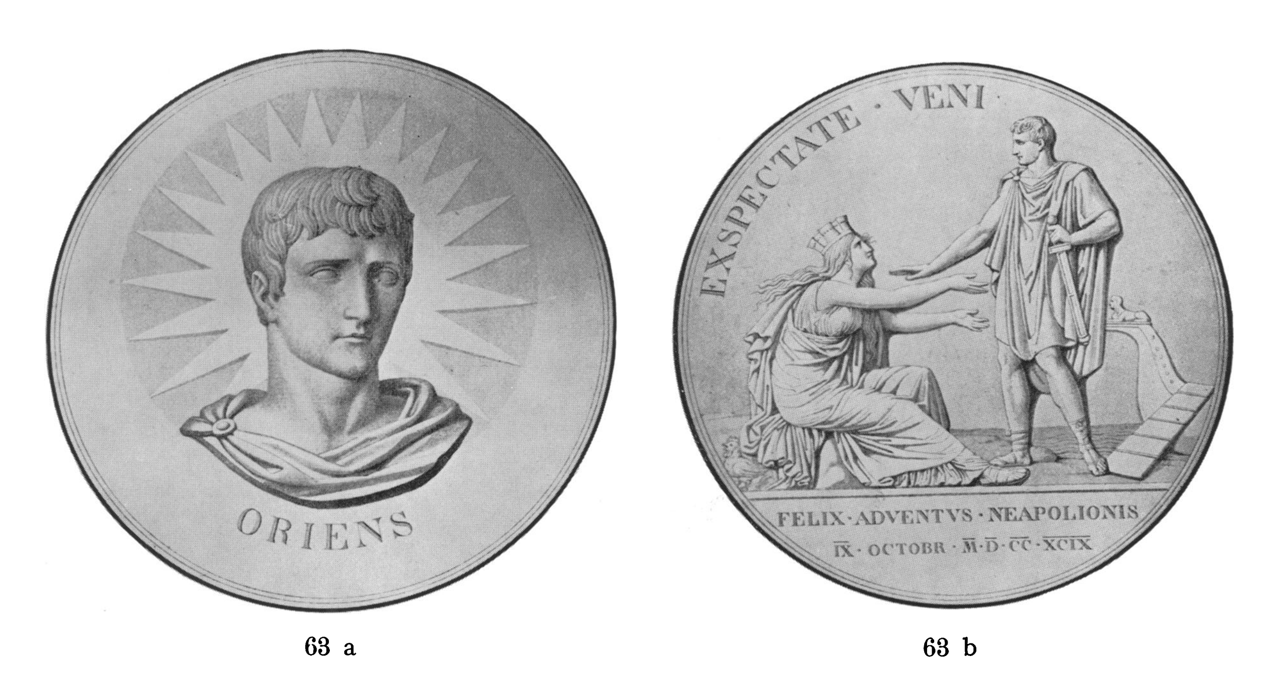
59



62



61



63 a

63 b

59. Design of Medallion: *Lit de Justice* (see note 303). 61. Medallic Persiflage: obv., Fall of Phaeton, rev., NON SEMPER LILIA FLORENT (see note 317). 62. Medallic Persiflage: SE IPSISSIMO (see note 318). 63 a–b. Medallic Design, 1799: obv., Napoleon as ORIENS, rev., ADVENTUS in Fréjus (see note 320)